Studies in Literature

By

Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan

1995

Royal Book Depot

Foujdari Road, Hyderabad.

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To the memory of my esteemed brother
Ḥāji Nazīr Aḥmed Khān (d1376/1957)

ع تمام عُمر جلی شمعِ انجمن کے لیے

Preface

Here are a few articles which were published in various literary and research journals of the Indo-Pak sub-continent (as also referred to in Pearson's Index Islamicus, Cambridge, 1958; and also by scholars of repute) and the author does not claim any scholarship. They had been written just to learn the methodology and attain a literary aptitude. At the fag end of my life an impulse to preserve them (if not all) has prompted me to put them together for the benefit of the readers, who may find some useful references to the source-material for research. They will, I hope, do much to stimulate, or even create, the need to encourage work in respect of such historical literature -not governed by personal or impersonal factors, but by 'forces' which have an abiding utility and enduring value.

We need to learn, first of all, where precisely it is that our literary circles in general and the orientalists in particular have to guide and use their 'directive force' for building a saner and healthier outlook. The scholars who are on the search of higher and nobler thoughts of life will help to re-establish a truly balanced criterion for the literary order. It is to them that I commend my modest articles with these words.

Ghulam Mustafa Khan

Contents

THE NAQSHBANDI SAINTS OF SIND [1]

With the advent of Islam the present province of Sind became a cradle of Islamic learnings and its savants and saints were the earliest Muslim missionaries who brought religious blessings to the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent.

The oldest record of the arrival of the Muslims may be traced back to the year 109/727, the date inscribed on the two slabs of a mosque excavated at Bhanbhore.[2] About the same period, Abu Turab might have arrived in Sind. He is said to have captured the fortress of Bukkur. He lies buried at Gujjo in the Mirpur Sakro Taluka (about 10 miles west of Thatta) and his epitaph gives the date 171 A. H. (788 A. D.)[3]. Thereafter, a number of scholars lived in various parts of the province, [4] who contributed vastly to the various fields of religious learnings and made sincere efforts, without any worldly patronage[5], to uproot illiteracy and general infidelity. We may note here a few names of the religious savants:-

(1) Abu Maʿshar Najiḥ bin ʿAbdur Raḥman Sindhi
170/787–his rhapsody is recorded in Jāmi' Tirmidhī.

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1. Discrepancies in transliteration regretted.
2. Bhanbhore may have been the same as Debal, the ruins of which have been noted by E.H.Aitken in the Gazetteer of the province of Sind,Karachi 1907, p.88 n.
3. Ibid.,p.90. Dr.Muhammad Shafi says in the Sanadid-i-Sind (p.9) that the saint died in 788 A.H. (not A.D.). Muhammad Ishaq Bhatti has given names of 25 companions of the Holy Prophet(peace !) who visited the sub-continent. See فقہاے ہند, Vol.I,pp.11-13(Lahore 1974).
4. Maulana Athar Mubarakpuri has, in رجال السند والهند (Bombay 1377 / 1958), mentioned more than a hundred Sindhi savants whose religious works are of great repute and who have lived upto the 7th century A.H. (13th century A.D.).
5. The names of the early Muslim governors of Sind have been mentioned by Mulana Abu Zafar Nadvi in his Tarikh-i-Sind (Azamgarh, 1047), p. 11, and by'Abd-allah Mubashshir in his tables quoted in the Tuhfat-al-Kiram (Hyderabad, 1971), pp. 619-624.

(2) Shaikh Mas'ud bin Shaiba Sindhi, the author of the كتاب التعليم , طبقات الحنفية etc
(3) Shaikh Rahmatullah Sindhi (a. 993/1585). Mulla 'Ali Qari wrote a commentary on the Shaikh's المنسك المتوسط
(4) Makhdum J'afar Būbakāni, the author of المتانة and في طلاق السنود حل العقود .
(5) Shaikh Abu al Hasan Muhammad b. 'Abd-al-Hādi (d. 1136/1723)– migrated from Thatta to Madina Sharif, where he wrote commentaries of مسند امام احمد and also annotations of the شرح نخبة الفكر
(6) Shaikh Muhammad Hayāt b. Ibrāhim (d. 1163/1750), He, too, migrated to Madina Sharif, where he wrote commentaries of اربعين of نووى etc.
(7) Abu-al-Hasan Muhammad Sādiq (d. 1187/1773). He migrated to Madina Sharif and wrote a commentary on Ibn Hajar's شرح نخبة الفكر etc.
(8) Makhdūm Muhammad Hāshim of Thatta (d. 1174/1760). He was one of the greatest Muslim savants. He wrote about 300 books on various subjects and left innumerable pupils of repute.
(9) Shaikh Abu-al-Hasan. He is the first scholar to change the Sindhi script, from Devanagri to Arabic. He wrote the مقدمة الصلوٰة and referred to Makhdūm Muhammad Hāshim (d. 1174/1760) on several points in it. He must have lived after him.[1]

Amongst the well-known Sufis of Sind the following need special reference and reverence:-

Sayyid 'Ali Makki (4th century A. H.), Makhdum Nūh of Bukkur (7th Century A.H.) , ; Lal Shahbaz (d. 673/1274), Shaikh Pitho (d. 666/1267), Shah Murād,

1. Makhdum Amir Ahmad has written on these scholars in the Armughān (Department of Islamic Culture & Religion, University of Sind, 1963, pp. 22-26.) Therein he thinks that the Shaikh No. 9 (supra) belonged to the 11th century A. H.

(d. 893/1488), Shaikh Isa Languti (d. 931/1525), Shaikh Khizr Siwistani (d. 994/1586), Ismail Somro (d. 998/1590), Makhdum Nuḥ[1] of Hālā (d. 998/1590), 'Abdullah Husaini (d. 1093/1682), 'Abd-al-Karim of Bulri (d. 1130/1717), Shah 'Inayat-allah of Jhok (d. 1130/1717), 'Abd-al-Rahman Khora (d. 1145/1732), 'Abd-al-Latif of Bhit Shah (d. 1165/1752) etc. These were the popular Sufis of Sindh, when Hazrat Mujáddid-i-Alf-Thani Shaikh Ahmad Faruqi of Sirhind (d. 1034/1624) appears as the most illuminating personality of the second millennium of the Muslim Calendar.

Hazrat Mujaddid's earliest disciples in Sind were Shaikh Mūsā and his son Shaikh Isḥāq of Sehwan[2]. Shaikh Musa had first been the disciple of Shaikh 'Isa Languti[3] of Burhānpūr (C.P.) who had migrated to Thatta and died there in 931/1525. Once Shaikh Musa went to Shaikh Karim-al-din of 'Uthmanpura[4] (Hasan Abdal) d. 1050/1640), a follower of Hazrat Mujaddid and having lost his previous spiritual relation with Shaikh 'Isa, he adopted the Mujaddidi order. His son Shaikh Isḥāq, too, adopted the same order and saw Hazrat Mujaddid, in his "Mukashafa", writing thus:

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1. Makhdum Nūḥ of Hāla was the first scholar of the subcontinent to translate the Holy Quran into Persian. The present writer has published its first part, with introduction, in 1962.

2. In the Maktub 3/69, the compiler writes his name as "قاضی موسیٰ شوحین", while the writer of the Hazrat-al-Quds (II,329) calls him as شیخ موسیٰ شوین. The word شوحین or شوین is most probably the same as سیہون or سیحون, the name given to the town after the river Indus, which passed through it. The poet Sanāī (d. 545/1150) calls Indus as Saihūn in his Ḥadiqa: تا بدید آتش سنان سیحون — ہم بر آن آب نیست آب اکنون

   It is similarly described in the Zain-al-Akhbar (Qazviri ed., pp. 69,70) and the Muayyid-al-Fuzala (Lucknow ed., Vol. I, p. 499).

3. In the Hazrat-al-Quds (II, 329-330) there is بلوتی in place of لنگوتی. In the same book, as well as in the Zubdat-al-Muqamat (Lucknow 1890. pp. 386-387) the details of the above facts are found. For Shaikh 'Isa Languti, see the تحفۃ الطاہرین p. 23 and مقالات الشعراء p. 457.

4. The Hazrat-al-Quds (II, 327) records that Hazrat Mujaddid had once passed through the village 'Uthmānpura.

من احمد السرهندی الی اسحق السندی - یا اسحق انت ولدی وخلیفتی فی جمیع الرموزات الحقیق
والدقیق و انی مغفور وانت مغفور ومن توسل بک ایضاً مغفور واقرأ لحبیبی وخلیفتی مولانا کریم الدین منی السلام

Both the father and the son sent their letters through Rahm Ali, being one more disciple of Hazrat Mujaddid.[1]

The letter contains a reference to the Mukashafa, mentioned above, and it also reveals that Shaikh Karim-al-din was at Sirhind at that time.

Hazrat Mujaddid's another disciple from Sind was Shaikh 'Abd-al-Raḥīm of Bukkur,[2] but his life accounts are not known.

Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani (d. 1034/1624) had a large progeny which settled in Afghanistan, and in many parts of India, including Sind. His son Khawaja Muḥammad Ma'sum (d.1079/1668) had six sons, (1) Muhammad Sibghat-allah (d.1122/1710), (2) Muhammad Naqshband (d. 1115/1703), (3) Muhammad'Ubaid-allah (d.1083/1672), (4) Muhammad Ashraf (d.1118/1706), (5)Khawaja Saif-al-din (d. 1096/1685) and (6) Muhammad Siddiq (d. 1131/1719).

The first son Muhammad Sibghat-allah was followed by his son Muhammad Ismail (d. 1136/1723) and he was descended by his son Ghulam Muḥammad Ma'ṣum (d. 1161/1748). The latter had nine sons, (1) Ghulam Muḥammad (2) Aḥmad, (3) Noor-al-din, (4) Abd-al-Quddūs, (5) Shah Izzat-allah, (6) Muḥammad Ṣādiq. (7) 'Abd-al-Aḥad, (8) Bashir-allah and (9) Safi-allah.[3] The sixth son (Muhammad Sadiq) died at Peshawar, but his son Haji Ghulam Muhy-al-din came over to Hyderabad. His elder son Nizam-al-din settled at Shikarpur and died there in 1273/1857. He was a

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1. One Sijawal had also gone to Hazrat Mujaddid (Maktub III, 9.1) and he might have been from Sijawal, a place near Thatta (Sind).
2. Rauzat-al-Qayyumia, Lahore (Publication year unknown), 1/340.
3. These details are found in Khawaja Fazl-allah's 'Umdat-al-Muqamat, Lahore, 1355/1936, pp. 442-445. These sons had either shifted from Sirhind to Peshawar or to Kabul. The fifth son 'Izzat-allah's سجع is as follows:-

یا مجدد عزت الله از تو عزت یافته

His grave is in Mohalla Siyāh Sang, Kabul.

re-nowned poet of Persian and Urdu, and was extremely modest in his ways of living, as he speaks in a verse :-

ز احوالِ درونِ من بہ خوکاں عار می آید
بظاہر مبتلا ہستم میانِ مکر و تزویرے

He had nine sons and one of them Fazl-i-Qayyum had a very brilliant son Ziya-i-Ma'sum, who left four sons, (1) Ghulam Mujaddid (d. 1391/1971), (2) Fazl-i-Ahmad, (3) Fida-i-Ahmad, (4) 'Ali Ahmed.[1] Haji Ghulam Muhy-al-din's second son Fida-i-Muhy-al-din, grandson Haji Muhammad Sharif, great grandson Bahr-al-din and the latter's only surviving daughter Khadija[2] (d. 1391/1971) are all buried behind the C. M. H. at Hyderabad.

Ghulam Muḥammad Ma'sum's ninth son Safi-allah (d. 1212/1798) was a great persian poet and a very learned man. The writer of the عمدۃ المقامات has quoted a number of his verses in the end of this book. His son 'Abd-al-Bāqī (d. 1237/1870) too was a good poet and the writer of the "تکملۂ مقالات الشعراء" has quoted many of his verses in that book (pp. 77-89), as he and his father both were his disciples (pp. 74-75). 'Abd-al-Baqi's son Muhammad Siddiq and his grandson Fazl-i-Qayyum, so also the latter's son Nūr-al-Mashāikh Mulla Shur Bāzār (Fazl-i-Umar) (d. 1377/1957) have been the most popular 'Ulama of Afghanistan.[3] Mulla Shur Bazar's eldest son Sadr-al-Mashāikh

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1. For all these details see Khawaja Muhammad Hasan Jan's Ansab-al-Anjab, Lahore 1340/1921, pp. 55-57.
2. The present writer has written a chronogram on her death thus:-

دخترِ شاہ پیر بحرالدین — عابدہ مثلِ رابعہ بصریؒ
بے مثالے بہ عفت و عصمت — باکمالے بہ شوکتِ دینی
در توکل بشانِ استغنا — در صفا و وفا نشانِ شہی
برِ او صد ہزار رحمت باد — گو ہمیش این دعای تاریخی
۱۹۷۱ء در سرائے شگفتِ خلدِ بریں — ساکن شد خدیجہ سربندہ ۱۳۹۱ھ

3. His life and works have been briefly discussed in his younger son's booklet, "Ashk-i-Gham," Karachi, 1968.

Fazl-i-'Uthman[1] has died at Lahore in 1393/1973 and was buried at Kabul, where his younger brother Ziya-al-Mashaikh Muhammad Ibrahim commands great respect amongst all.

Ghulam Muhammad Ma'sum's first son Shah Ghulam Muhammad (d. 1177/1763, Peshawar) had six sons, but two of them (1) Ghulam Husain (died at Qandhar) and (2) Ghulam Hasan (d. 1204/1790, Peshawar) were very popular. The latter's son Ghulam Nabi (d. 1226/1811 Qandhar) was followed by his son Fazl-allah (d. 1238/1822, Qandhar), the popular author of the عمدة المقامات

We may quote here a passage from the عمدة المقامات (p. 157) which comprises full accounts of the Naqshbandi saints down to the times of the author himself, i.e., till Safi-allah (d. 1212/1798), the author's spiritual guide:-

مخفی نماند که حضرت مجدد الف ثانی رضی الله تعالیٰ عنه را در اولیاے این امت، شانِ عظیم است و مراتبِ والا که خال را بآن ممتاز کرده باشند — هرچند زبانِ کتابت از بیانِ آن عاجز و حوصلهٔ کاتب از تعدادِ آن قاصر، اما بحکم ما لا یدرک کله لا یترک کله بیانِ بعضے ازاں معاملاتِ بزرگ و مراتبِ شگرف می نماید، بگوشِ هوش استماع باید کرد ----

In the opening chapters of the book the author has given brief accounts of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him), the Holy Companions and Imams, and then Baha-al-din Naqshband of Bukhara (d. 791/1389) and his spiritual lineage.

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1. The present writer has written a chronogram on his death thus :

شمسِ علماء امیرِ متقیان — رہبرِ دین، نصرتِ عقبیٰ
٣٩ ٣ ١ھ — ٣٩ ٣ ١ھ

فضلِ عثمان قبلهٔ دارین — صدر و بدرِ مشایخ تقوی
٣ ٧ ٩ ١ع — ٣ ٩ ٣ ١ھ

حاج و حافظ فقیهِ نیک سگال — فاضلِ دودمانِ راهِ صفا
٣ ٩ ٣ ١ھ — ٣ ٩ ٣ ١ھ

گشت صبحِ بروج و قطب مدار — عارفِ زنده دل ز فضلِ خدا
٣ ٩ ٣ ١ھ — ٣ ٧ ٩ ١ع

آه از واسطهٔ حقیقت رفت — هم طریقت شود ز قدر جدا
٣ ٩ ٣ ١ھ — ٣ ٩ ٣ ١ھ

Fazl-allah was a good poet as well. One of his ghazals runs thus:-

کردم اگر ز جاں، تنِ خود را فدائے دل — افشاندہ ام نثارِ محقّر بپائے دل

رو پشتِ پا بہ تختِ اقالیمِ سبع زن — گر یافتی گدائیِ دولت سرائے دل

بینی نہاں عیان و نگوئی عیاں نہاں — واقف اگر شوی ز تہ پردہ ہائے دل

آخر چرا بہ شیشۂ گردوں نمی رسد — سنگِ ندا ز دامنِ کوہ صدائے دل

مرآتِ دل ز زنگِ حوادث مکدر است — فضل از دوامِ ذکرِ خدا کن جلائے دل

This author's son Shah 'Abd-al-Qayyum[1] (d. 1271/1855, Qandhar) has his descendants at Qandhar but his son Khawaja 'Abd-al-Raḥmān shifted over to Sind and settled at Tando Sāīn Dād (near Tando Muhammad Khan). Khawaja 'Abd-al-Raḥmān (d. 1315/1897) had two very learned sons, (1) Aqa Muḥammad Ḥasan[2] Jān (d. 1365/1946) and (2) Aqa Muḥammad Ḥusain Jān[3] (d. 1367/1948).

Aqa Muhammad Hasan Jan has been a very great scholar and an author of the following works:-

(۱) شفاء الامراض ۱۳۱۴ھ (۲) انیس المریدین ۱۳۱۶ھ (۳) پنج گنج ۱۳۲۰ھ (۴) سفرنامۂ عربستان ۱۳۳۳ھ (۵) تذکرۃ الصلحاء فی بیان الاتقیاء ۱۳۳۶ھ (۶) انساب الانجاب ۱۳۴۰ھ (۷) شرح حکم شیخ عطاء اللہ سکندری ۱۳۴۲ھ

(۸) الاصول الاربعہ فی تردید الوہابیہ ۱۳۴۶ھ (۹) طریق النجاۃ مع رسالہ التنویر فی اثبات التقدیر ۱۳۴۹ھ (۱۰) رسالہ در قواعدِ تجوید ۱۳۴۹ھ (۱۱) العقائد الصحیحہ فی بیان مذہب اہل السنۃ والجماعۃ ۱۳۶۰ھ (۱۲) الاشارہ الی البشارہ (۱۳) رسالۃ فی باب صحۃ الجمعہ فی القری (۱۴) لغات القرآن (۱۵) تہلیلیہ — وغیرہ

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1. One of his disciples was Muhammad Yusuf of Mulla Katyar, and the latter's nephew Wali Muhammad first became a disciple of Shah 'Abd-al-Qayyum's son 'Abd-al-Rahman and latter of Muhammad Mazhar (s/o Shah Ahmed Said Mujaddidi, d ..1277/1860) at Madina. Wali Muhammad was followed by his son 'Abd-al-Rahim and now by his grandson Muhammad Ishaq.

2. Professor 'Ali Nawaz Jatoi has published Hasan Jan's ابتدائی سلوک in Sindhi (1972).

3. The present writer has written a chronogram on his death as :-

۱۹۴۸ء فخرِ دہور، قطبِ زماں، شاعرِ جلیل — در خلد آرمید محمد حسین جان ۱۳۶۷ھ

A specimen from his رسالۂ تہلیلیہ, written in 1344/1925, is as follows :-

حادث از قدیم چہ داند و فانی از باقی چہ توان گفت ؟ ذراتِ ہوائیہ کہ از خطِ شعاعیِ آفتاب جلوہ گر می شوند از حقیقتِ آفتاب چہ دانند ؟ مخلوقِ عاجز کہ پس از ہفتاد ہزار حجاب واقع شدہ است از کیفیتِ خالقِ خود چہ ادراک توانند کرد ؟ آن زبان کراست کہ بحقِ ستائشِ او گویا شود ؟ آن قلم کراست کہ بحرِ معرفتِ او پویا گردد ؟

دور بینانِ بارگاہِ الست — غیر ازیں پے نبردہ اند کہ ہست

..... عبارتے کہ بوسیلۂ آن از ذاتِ پاکش تعبیر کردہ شود نیست الا آنکہ گویم او موجود است نہ بوجود خارج از ذات و واحد لاشریک است فی ذاتہ وصفاتہ و سمیع است نہ بہ گوش ، بصیر است نہ بہ چشم ، متکلم است نہ بہ زبان ، قادر است نہ بہ لشکر ، عالم است نہ بہ تعلیم ، حی است نہ بہ روح ، مرید است نہ بہ دل ، مکوّن است نہ بہ اسباب بلکہ این صفاتِ مقدسۂ او تعالیٰ را بغیر احتیاج آلہ و اسباب میسر است ۔

He left four sons (1) 'Abd-allāh Jān"Shāh Āghā" (1305/1888- 1393/1973,)(2) 'Abd-al-Sattar Jan(1311/1893-1387/1967), (3) Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Hāshim Jān (d.1395/1975) and (4) Muhammad Hanif Jan (born 1339/1920).

'Abd-allāh Jān "Shāh Āghā" has published the following books :-

مونس المخلصین — راحت القلوب — مخزن العلوم

His brother Maulana Ḥafiz Muhammad Hashim Jan has also published two books in Sindhi :-

فرائض الاسلام — بناء الاسلام

Khawaja 'Abd-al-Raḥman's second son Aqa Muhammad Husain Jan (d. 1367/ 1948) has been a prominent social worker and a poet of repute. With his nom-de-plume "Sirhindi'," his diwan has been published by his younger grandson Maulana Ibrahim Jan (son of Maulana Muhammad Isma'il Jan) from village Samaro, Distriet Tharparkar, (Sind). A few verses from one of his Persian Ghazals may be quoted here :-

رخ گلابے عجبے ، زلف نقابے عجبے — آفتابے عجبے زیر سحابے عجبے
بے تو چوں ماہیِ بے آب بہ گلشن ما راست — اضطرابے عجبے ، رنج و عذابے عجبے
ز آتشِ روے تو چوں زلف پریشاں دارم — انقلابے عجبے ، عقدہ و تابے عجبے
بیتِ ابروے تو کلکِ ازل از نقطۂ خال — انتخابے عجبے کردہ زبابے عجبے
دلِ دیوانۂ ما از نگہِ مستِ تو شد — از شرابے عجبے مست و خرابے عجبے
خوش فتاد است خطِ سبزِ تو بر دفترِ حسن — گشتہ بابے عجبے زیبِ کتابے عجبے
نامِ کوثر نبرد ہر کہ خورد از لبِ تو — مۓ نابے عجبے شہد و شرابے عجبے

Aqa Muḥammad Ḥusain Jan's son Muhammad Isma'il Jan, too, was a very prominent politician of Sind. Sultan Ibn Sa'ud of Hijaz had invited him, along with Maulana S. Sulaiman Nadvi and 'Ali Brothers, to attend the Islámic Conference in 1345/1926. His nom-de-plume was 'Raushan' and his other work has been published by his elder son Maulana Muhammad Ishaq Jan of Mirpurkhas (Sind) in 1381/1961.

A few verses from his diwan may be quoted here :-

بیا سوے مدینہ تا بیابی صد قرار این جا
گل این جا، سبزہ این جا، گلشن این جا، جوئبار این جا
چہ خوش باشد کہ سازم فرشِ راہِ سید الکونین
دل این جا، دیدہ این جا، سینہ این جا، جسم زار این جا
نماید بے نیاز از باغ جنت، نزہتِ طیبہ
گل این جا، سنبل این جا، سوسن این جا، لالہ زار این جا
چو نقشِ پا نہد بر آستانش ہر سرافرازے
سر این جا، گردن این جا، افسر این جا، افتخار این جا

In his ghazals he has fine dictions and very attractive metaphors :-

فگندہ برقع بہ رخ می گذشت یار بہ باغ
مگر ز طفلِ گل این رسم چادری آموخت

خامہ را سازند زیں رو، روسیاہ
ہست کاں دائم پئے عیبِ دگر

پس از شیریں زبانی، تلخ گشتی
نہ دانستم کہ داری نوش را نیش

عرق یک قطرہ از رویش چکیدہ
تو گوئی کز مہ افتادہ ستارہ

بیادِ گل رخت اے گل ببستم
چوں نکہت آشیاں بر دامنِ گل

His two sons (1) Maulana Isḥāq Jān and (2) Maulana Ibrāhīm Jān, too, are good poets and very high literati. They freely quote Arabic and Persian verses in their daily talks and speeches. The former one has published his سفرنامۂ ایران and سفرنامۂ بلادِ اسلامیہ in Urdu. He has also published pamphlets on the lives of the Holy Prophet's wives and daughters.

Khawaja 'Abd-al-Raḥman's grandfather Fazl-allah had a brother Ziya-al-Haq[2]. He had six sons. The first son 'Abd-al-Karim (d. 1269/1853) had two sons, (1) 'Abd-al-'Aziz[3] (d. 1311/1893) and (2) Abu-al-Qasim whose descendants are living in various parts of Sind. Ziya-al-Haq's second son 'Abd-al-Raḥim (Āqa Ṣāhib) came to Matyari (Hyderabad) and died there in 1313/1895 at the age of 90. He had eight sons and the first son 'Adb-al-Halim (d. 1331/1913) has six sons. The eldest of them was Ghulam Mujaddid (d. 1962 A. D.), whose only son Ghulam Rasūl lived at Matyari and was a very learned man. He died in September 1990.

Makhdūm Ādam
(alias "Ado") of Thatta.

He was a contemporary of another Ādam b. Muḥammad Isḥāq Ṣiddīqī (d. 1066/1656), hence preferred to be called as "Ādo." Both he and his friend Miyān Kabīr Muhammad first became the disciples of Khwāja Muḥammad Ma'sum[4] of Sirhind (d. 1079/1668) and after the latter's death they took their spiritual lessons from Sirhind (most probably under Khwaja Saif-al-din, d.1096/1685). Miyan Kabir Muhammad,

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1 Maulana Ishaq Jan died in 1395/1975. The present writer has written chronograms on his death and on the death of his several relatives.

2. For these details see Khawaja Hasan Jan's Ansab-al-Anjab, pp. 73-76.

3. 'Abd-al-Aziz's son Ziya-i-Ahmed had three sons (1) Ghulam- allah, (2) Hujjat-allah and (3) 'Abd-al-Latif. Ghulam-allah left two sons (1) Ghulam Mustafa and (2) 'Abd-al-Karim, while Hujjat- allah left (1) Ghulam Murtaza, (2) 'Abd-al-Fattah and (3)Hizb- allah at Malir Karachi.

4. The writer of the Rauzat-al Qayyumia (II/240) has mentioned Makhdūm Adam of Thatta as a Khalifa of Muhammad Ma'sum.

was followed by his sons (1) Miyan Mahmud and (2) Miyan Muhammad Zaman, and the latter guided 'Abd-al-Rahim of Ders tribe.[1]

In the Maktubat (Vol. II) of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum there are three Arabic letters (Nos. 59,63,77) and one Persian letter (No. 76) addressed to Makhdūm Ādam (Ādo). The letter so runs:–

حامداً لله العظیم ومصلیاً علی رسوله الکریم ـ الله تعالی ابواب فیض را همواره مفتوح داراد ـ صحائف گرامی بتعاقب یک دیگر رسیده سبب مسرت گردید ـ نوشته بودند که مقتدی عقب امام بذکر نفی و اثبات مشتغل شود یا نه ـ مخدوما، مقتدی وغیر مقتدی را باید که در نماز بارکان نماز مقید باشد و در رعایت آداب وسنن آن کوشد ـ اوقات از برائے ذکر نفی و اثبات بسیار است ـ در نماز در تکمیل نماز پردازد که افضل اعمال و اکمل مقربات است ـ آرے اگر در حضور دل و وقوف قلبی کوشد مستحسن می نماید ـ لا صلوٰة الا بحضور القلب وارد شده است ـ و نیز نوشته بودند که در بعضے عبارت وارد شده است که پیغمبر خدا صلی الله علیه و آله وسلم قطب ارشاد وقت خود بوده اند ـ آیا دراں وقت، نسبت قیومیت که داشت؟ اگر آن سرور علیه وعلی آله الصلوٰة والسلام پس چرا ایشاں را باوجود قیوم، قطب ارشاد گویند و کدام فائده در آن است باوجود که نسبت قطبیت دون نسبت قیومیت است ـ بدانند که لفظ قطب ارشاد و مدار و جز آں، در لسان اہل شرع وارد نیست واز مصطلحات و مکشوفات صوفیۂ کرام است و نسبت قیومیت، مکشوف حضرت ایشاں است، معلوم نیست که پیش از آں حضرت از اولیاء کسے باں تکلم نموده باشد ـ باسرار آں متحقق گشته کمال الکمال بطور صوفیه در اطوار ولایت قطبیت ارشاد است که باں سرور نسبت کرده اند، نسبت قیومیت که دراں وقت جلوه نه فرموده بود از کجا اطلاق کنند ـ اکنون که جلوه گر گشته است گوئیم که ایں نسبت علیه در زمان آں سرور باں سرور مفوض بوده ـ علیه وعلی آله الصلوٰة والسلام و نشاید که دراں وقت غیر او را بود و نسبت قیومیت به دیگرے منسوب گردد ـ ـ ـ

1. For these details see Mir 'Ali Sher Qāni's Tuhfat-al-Kirām, Urdu translation, Karachi 1959, pp. 710-715.

Later when Makhdum Adam became a disciple of Khawaja Saif-al-din he was addressed thus :-

باسمه سبحانه - اما بعد السلام علیکم ورحمة الله وبرکاته - مخدوما. استماع اخبار استقامت شما برآن طریقهٔ علیه و سرگرمی هنگام طلب، سبب لذات معنویه می گردد - زادکم الله سبحانه ترقیا و استقامتاً - بعضی یاران رشید شما که ملاقات کردند از مطالعهٔ احوال الفاسی محظوظ شدیم، علی الخصوص شیخ انس و سید فتح محمد و ابوالحسن و تازکی - توفیق آثار شیخ عنایت الله ملاقات نمود - از احوال پسندیدهٔ او نیز محظوظ شدیم - یقین که بیش از بیش بحال مومی الیه متوجه خواهند بود (مکتوب ۱۶۶)

From this letter it is obvious that Makhdūm Ādam's several friends (disciples) had gone to Sirhind to see Khawaja Saif-al-din, apparently after the death of his father Khawaja Muhammad Ma'ṣum i.e., after 1079/1668, and that Khawaja Saif-al-din particularly appreciated (1) Shaikh Anas (2) Sayyid Fatḥ Muḥammad, (3) Abu-al-Ḥasan (4) Tāziki and (5) Shaikh 'Inayat-allah.[2] This fact further affirms that Makhdum Adam must have died after Khawaja Muhammad Ma'sum; i.e., most probably after 1080/1669.

Khawaja Saif-al-din's another addressee of Thatta was Hafiz, 'Abd-al-Ra'uf who was thus permitted to give spiritual guidance:-

... اما بعد نموده می آید که چون فضائل و کمالات دستگاه، جامع علوم ظاهری و باطنی شیخ عبدالرؤف مدار الارشاد حضرت سرهند رسیده به زیارات روضهای منوره استسعاد یافت و به صحبت خادمان و مجاوران این بقعهاء متبرکه چند گاهی بسر برده اخذ فیوض و برکات نموده و از مزایا و خواص این طریقه حظ وافر یافت و در مدت قلیل، فوائد کثیره نصیب او گشته و محبت شیوخ و استقامت غرّا از اطوار و اوضاع او لائح و هویدا گشت، بنابرین، عاصی دور از کار، باوجود عدم لیاقت، محض برای ترویج طریقهٔ احمدیه معصومیه و اماتت بدعت نامرضیه و احیای سنت سنیه، اجازت تعلیم این طریقهٔ علیه بمشار الیه داد و شرط الاجازت الاستقامت علی الشریعة المصطفویه علی صاحبها الصلوٰة والسلام والتحیه والثبات علی محبة الشیوخ - والسلام علی من اتبع الهدیٰ -

1. Maktubat-i-Saifia, Hyderabad (Sind), p. 191 (Maktub No. 166).
2. Maulana Ghulam Muhammad 'Arifi of Mehr (Sind), has a verbal rhapsody from his forefathers, saying that Shaikh Anas was from Shikarpur and a Qazi at Thatta; Fath Muhammad and Abul Hasan were from Nasrpur and that Taziki Bukhri's grave and his school are just on the roadside of Makli. 'Inayat-allah is most probably from Jhok. He died in 1130/1718. Maulana Quddūsi has also mentioned Fath Muhammad and Shaikh Anas. See his biography, p. 50.

This 'Abd-al-Rauf went to Mecca and died there. He was one of the spiritual masters of Maulana Muhmmad Murad, who translated Hazrat Mujaddid's Maktubat in Arabic at Mecca and published them in 1316/1898.

Makhdum Adam left two sons, (1) Faiz-allah and (2) Muhammad Ashraf, who died some five years after their father, but Makhdum Abu-al-Qasim, Shaikh Ibrabim of Rohri, S. Fath Muhammad, Shaikh Anas, Shaikh Sabir, were his prominent Khalifas[2], who later worked for the good of the people through their Naqshbandi order of spiritual purification.

Makhdum Abu-al-Qasim

Makhdum Abu-al-Qasim's father Ibrahim of Ders tribe who had been attached to the Suhrawardi order, came to Thatta and died there. Abu-al-Qasim first completed his religious education and then sought spiritual guidance from Makhdūm Ādam, who advised him to got to Sirhind. Abu-al-Qasim went there and became a disciple of Khwaja Saif-al-din (d. 1096/1685). The Khwaja called him "Nur-i-Haq" – a title included in the chronogram of his grave at Thatta and reads as follows:–

بسال وصل او با الف بفزود — ابوالقاسم سراسر نور حق بود

۸ ۳ ۱ ۱ ھ

One of his verses is recorded in the biographies :–

بر لوح دل چو تختهٔ تعلیم کودکان — پر حرف آرزو که نوشتم خراب شد

1. Maktubat-i-Saifia, pp. 200-1 (Maktub No. 178).
2. Maulana Quddusi, pp. 49-50.

He was followed by his son Ibrahim and grandson Ahmed[1], and his disciples were in such a large number that the Naqshbandi order became very popular throughout Sind[2].

Amongst his Khalifas Makhdum Muḥammad Muʿīn became the most popular figure of his times. He was a great scholar, a talented scholar of jurisprudence and a highly cultured poet, but a pantheistic sufi. He expired in ecstacy in 1161/1748 and was buried near Makhdum Abu-al-Qasim's grave.

١١٦١ھ ع قطره در بحر آب واصل شد

He wrote a number of books and even changed his beliefs as and when he thought fit. We may quote some of his verses here:-

علی ولی چو امام مبین ما شده بود — برون ز توسن افلاک زین ما شده بود

به شهر عشق ز فتوای بربط و طنبور — سجود کوی خرابات دین ما شده بود

ز پیچ و تاب کفر زلف ترسا بچهٔ شوخم — پریشان قبله‌گاهم کیش در هم برهمی دارم

کیست روباه که از شیر ژیان صرفه برد — عقل از چپقلش عشق زبون می‌گردد

سنگ را خون دل دادم که با من آشنا گردد — ندانستم ز بخت بد که او دیوانه خواهد شد

He has left about two dozen books on Sufi-ism, Jurisprudence, and several other religious matters. His biographers have noted several changes in his beliefs yet his critics have praised him for his courage to do so.[3]

1. Maulana Quddusi (pp. 51-62) has given these details.
2. Ibid., pp. 57-58. Maulana Quddusi has mentioned Abu-al-Qasim's twenty Khalifas who worked for the Naqshbandi order throughout Sind.
3. For details see the preface to تحفة الکرام , دراسات اللبیب (pp. 558-568) and تکملهٔ مقالات الشعراء (pp. 241-245).

Shah Sadr-al-din

Shah Sadr-al-din (b. Sayyid Muhammad b. Sayyid 'Ali makki) descended from Hazrat Musa-al-Kazim. His grandfather Sayyid ('Ali Makki) was the first Sayyid who settled near Dadu (Pergana Siwistan) and married the newly converted daughter of the Raja of Arore.

Amongst his descendants Shah Sadr-al-din II lived in the 11th century A. H. and his tomb was erected in 1155/1742, as its chronogram shows :–

سال تاریخش بجستم از خرد — بالقم گفته "بهشت اہل بیت"

۱۱۵۵

One of his grandsons (daughter's sons) Sayyid Muhammad Shujā' was a Naqshbandi saint. But amongst his direct descendants Muhammad Baqa (b. Muhammad Imam b. Fath Muhammad) was born at Rasūlpūr (District Khairpur) in 1135/1723 and was martyred in 1198/1784. He was buried in the village Tayyib (Khairpur). He adopted Chishtia, Qadiria and Naqshbandia orders. In the latter order he was a Khalifa of Makhdum Muhammad Ismail of Piryan lo (Rohri) who died in 1174/1760.

Sayyid Muhammad Baqa's son Sayyid Muhammad Rashid was born in 1170/1756, and educated under Shah Faqir-allah 'Alawi (d. 1195/1781), Makhdum Ahmadi (d. 1203/1789) and the latter's son Muhammad 'Aqil (d. 1293/1876). Sayyid Muhammad Rashid died in 1233/1818 and was followed by his son Sibghat-allah (d. 1246/1831), the founder of the 'Hur' party–parallel to the Mujahid force of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid of Bareli (d. 1246/1831) who had visited the former's place in 1241/1826.

S. Sibghat-allah was followed by his son S. 'Ali Gauhar (d. 1263/1847) and then by his grandson Hizb-allah (d. 1308/1889) and the great grandson Sibghat-allah II[1] (d. 1362/1943). Maulana Din Muhammad 'Adib says about the latter :–

1. His brother 'jAli Asghar Shah (d. 1354/1935) wrote a Persian doublet wherein he speaks of his ancestors. See the تکملۂ مقالات الشعراء p. 797.

پئے جنگ انگریز سرکش نمود — دوم صبغة الله نشو و نما
فرنگی بگردید زو منتقم — ز دارش رسانیده دارالبقا
زمین روز، عصین حصینش نمود — ربودند مالش به جور و جفا
چو آباو اجداد فیاض بود — شده دائماً پیرو مصطفی[1]
میانِ مخالف بریده بگو — ادیبا سنِ او "رضی بالقضا" 1.
۱ - ۱۳۶۲ = ۱۹۴۳ء

Sayyid Muhammad Rāshid (d. 1233/1818) had several Khalifas; viz, (1) Muḥammad Ḥusain, Mahesar (2) Khalifa of Sui, (some of the saints of Bharchondi and later of Amrot followed), (3) Mahmud of قریہ گنوّر خان (4) Khalifa of Khāngarh (Mirpur Mathelo) (5) Nabi Bakhsh Leghari of Mithi (whom people of Kutch and Kathiawar followed), and (6) Gul Muḥammad of Hāla (the author of The دیوانِ گل) 2.

Sayyid Muhammad Rāshid has left a collection of his letters, addressed to his eighteen disciples or friends. His sayings were collected by Khalifa Mahmud of قریہ گنوّر خان (d. 1248/1832), and by Khalifa Muhammad Husain[3] as well. On his teachings the former has written a book المحبوبیہ المحمودیہ and the latter has added to it a portion on the life of his spiritual master[4].

The book المحبوبیہ المحمودیہ contains a preface, followed by six اشغال as follows :–
(۱) لا الٰہ الا اللہ (۲) یا اللہ یا ہو (۳) اللہ ہو (۴) لطائفِ ستّہ (۵) سلطان الاذکار (۶) نفی اثبات

Then under 20 chapters, entitled حضور, various topics on gnosis have been discussed. Under the شغلِ چہارم it is written thus :–

در تکمیل ہر یک لطیفہ مریدان و مستفیضانِ اوشان را سالہای کثیر می گذرد و مشکلہای خطیر، بلکہ اکثر را در ضبطِ اول و دوم و سوم تمامی رسد و بعضے را کہ مستعدان بہ استعداد قوی و ہمتِ عالی اند در انجناب بر جذباتِ علیہ و کمالاتِ کلیہ بر ہمہ لطائف قریبِ زمان حاصل می شود۔ ؎ صوفی نہ شود صافی تا در نہ کشد جامے — بسیار سفر باید تا پختہ شود خامے

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1. Kulliyat-i-Adib, Hyderabad, 1964, p. 77. For the Sayyids of Khara, Daraza, Matyari, see Ṣaḥifa, Lahore, July 1972 and October 1972.
2. Quddusi, pp. 271-272.
3. Maulana Mashuri has so far published its Sindhi translation in three parts.
4. For details, see Sahifa Journal, Lahore, January 1973.

Muhammad Mulūk Chāndio has also collected the sayings of his master Mahmud of قریہ گنئور خان in 1244/1828 and named it as سراج العاشقین The author has first given his شجرۂ قادریہ thus :-

سید عبدالقادر جیلانی رح - سید عبدالوہاب رح - سید نصراللہ رح - سید صوفی - سید احمد - سید مسعود - سید علی - سید شاہ میر -
سید شمس الدین - سید محمد غوث - سید عبدالقادر - سید عبدالرزاق - سید حامد - سید عبدالقادر - سید شمس الدین محمد -
سید عبدالقادر - سید شمس الدین - سید حامد (شاہ گنج بخش) - سید شمس الدین - سید محمد صالح - سید عبدالقادر حسنی - سید محمد بقا حسینی -
سید محمد راشد - شیخ محمود (رحمہم اللہ) -

Then he quotes his شجرۂ نقشبندیہ as well :-

حضرت مجدد الف ثانی رح - سید آدم بنوری - شیخ سعدی لاہوری - حاجی ایوب جمال اللہ - اسمٰعیل بریاں لوئی -
سید محمد بقا - سید محمد راشد - شیخ محمود (رحمہم اللہ) -

The book has got 12 folios, each page having 13 lines and each line generally contains 13 words. On folio 83 a, the author has preferred وحدۃ الشہود over وحدۃ الوجود as understood from his master. A passage from the folios 43 b-44 a is as follows:-

می فرمودند کہ حقیقت نماز جز بہ بصیرت دل میسر نمی شود - و وائے وائے می کردند و می گریستند و می فرمودند کہ
هیهات هیهات بر حال ما ست - ہمہ عمر بر حرفہای کاغذ صرف ساختیم بلکہ آں ہم بدست نیامدہ و اگر بیاید تاہم
چہ سود دارد - و این می فرمودند کہ از قلم و سیاہی، کاغذ سیاہ می شود و دلہای سیاہ، ما را چہ طور روشنائی دید
و این بیت می فرمودند :- حرف کو کاغذ سیاہ کند - کہ دل تیرہ را چو ماہ کند
اے عزیز، حضرت شیخ ما ادام اللہ تعالیٰ برکاتہ علینا را بدون گریہ و بجز آہ ہیچ سرمایہ نبود و در آں زمان
اکثر از لسان گوہر فشان خود این الفاظ تکرار می فرمودند کہ اے یاران و اے برادران، بگریز سوے صاحب دلے
کہ از صحبت او حلاوت ایمان بدست آید - می فرمودند کہ امروز احوال خلق و قوت ایشان خرچ در خفتن و
خوردن و آشامیدن و پوشیدن است - بیچارہ در آں حیران و پریشان می مانند - تاہم سرانجام این کار میسر نمی شود
چراکہ این امداد خالق است، از دست مخلوق راست نیاید و ایشان را باید کہ ازین معاملہ رو بے خود بگردانند
و رجوع بسوے خالق آرند تا نظر ایشان از اسباب گذشتہ بر مسبب افتد و بدرجۂ من لہ المولیٰ فلہ الکل
برسند و ہم در قرآن کریم نگرند کہ نحن نرزقکم و ایاھم برائے چہ آمدہ است و این کہ مسبب را گذاشتہ، دل
بر اسباب معیشت می بندند - این کار از خرد مندی دور است - و این بیت را نیز می خواندند :-

ع ہر چہ با تو بر نیاید زیر خاک - این ہمہ دنیا بود، نہ دین پاک

ع ہر چہ جز حق، بسوز و غارت کن - ہر چہ جز دین، از و طہارت کن

The epitaph of Isma'il b. Jamalullah is as follows :-

چو زیں جا رخت بست آں باز جبروت - تہی کرد آشیان قید ناسوت
چو رفت آن رہنما فریاد برخاست - ز ذرات جہاں از ماہ تا حوت
کہ این باز اسمٰعیل مخدوم - کہ میلش بود کلی سوی لاہوت
وقوع رحلت آن قطب عالم - غذیو افگند در سکان ملکوت
بہ ہشتم از ربیع الاول او رفت - بہ شنبہ چون کہ باز آمد ز خلوت
ز تاریخش ہمیں ہاتف چنیں گفت - مقام روح پاکش رحمت لاہوت

۱۱۵۱

Shah Faqir-allah 'Alawi

He was the son of 'Abd-al-din b. Shams-al-din of Jalālābād (Afghanistan). He was a disciple of Shaikh Muḥammad Mas'ud Dā'im of Peshawar, the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id of Lahore, the disciple of Asad-allah of Wazirabad, who had been a popular disciple of Shaikh Ādam Bannuri.[1]

Shah Faqir-allah lived at Qandhar, but in 1150/1737 he migrated to Shikarpur (Sind) and worked for the Naqshbandi order. The collection of his 390 Maktūbāt shows that he wrote bits of religious advice to political personalities like Ahmad Shah Abdali, his vizier Shah Wali Khan, Nasir Khan of Qalat, Muhammad Sarfaraz Khan Kalhora and Muhammad Khan of Makran. He has also addressed to the prominent 'Ulama of his times, viz, Makhdūm Muhammad Hāshim of Thatta, Mulla Muhammad Mu'in of Thatta, 'Abd-al-Ra'uf of Hāla Kindi and Sayyid Muhammad Rāshid b. Sayyid Muhammad Baqa. A specimen of one of his letters is as follows :-

مکتوب بیست و ہفتم بنام زبدۂ مشائخ میاں عبدالرؤف ساکن ہالا کندی، صدور یافتہ

بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم - الحمد للہ والصلوٰۃ والسلام الاتمان الاکملان علی خاتم الرسالۃ و آلہ واصحابہ الکرام الی یوم القیام - بخدمت سدۂ منیف، عنصر لطیف، مظہر وجود حقانی، مرآت نعوت سبحانی میاں عبدالرؤف جیو سلمہ ربہ، سلام سنت سید الانام علیہ افضل الصلوات واکمل التحیات من اللہ الملک العلام واصل باد - خلیفہ محمد پناہ جیو رقم زدہ، کلک بیان ساختہ بودند کہ حضرت عالی فضلیت تحیات و دعوات می رسانند - احقر بمطالعۂ مکتوب مرغوب فائض السرور مسرور گشت - حضرت حق جل فی جلالہ در مرتبۂ ذات بحت، معرا از صفات فانی ساختہ، بوجود حقانی رجوع دادہ در مرتبۂ قلب داعی ساکنان سفل بجناب قدس گرداناد - دریافت ملاقات مربوط بہ ارادۂ ازلی است، نظر بر الامور مرہونۃ باوقاتہا داشتہ بنائق انائق فرحت افزا گردیدہ باشند - والسلام علیکم ورحمۃ اللہ وبرکاتہ -

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1. Aqa-i-Habib's article in the Persian Journal "Sarosh" 15th March 1958, has been referred to by Quddusi (pp. 189-196).

His following works are preserved in various libraries :-

(۱) فتح الجمیل فی مدارج التکمیل (۲) براہین النجاۃ من مصائب الدنیا والعرصاۃ (۳) فیوضات اللہ
(۴) طریق الارشاد فی تکمیل المؤمنین والاولاد (۵) منتخب الاصول (۶) وثیقۃ الاکابر (۷) قطب الارشاد
(۸) فتوحات الغیبیہ فی شرح عقائد الصوفیہ (۹) جواہر الاوراد (۱۰) قصیدۂ مبرورہ (۱۱) کتاب الازہار
فی ثبوت الآثار (۱۲) فوائدِ فقیر اللہ (۱۳) شرح قصیدۂ بانت سعاد (۱۴) ملفوظات (۱۵) مکتوبات
(۱۶) ملفوظات و عملیات (۱۷) شرح ابیاتِ مشکلِ مثنوی ـ

A few verses of his poetry showing Ṣūfī characteristics may be quoted here :-

مصدرِ فیضی کہ عالم را ترو تازہ نمود ـ فی الحقیقت ہست چوں مرآت در جسمِ شہود
لب اگر تر سازد آں رندِ خراباتی بہ مے ـ جامہ و جاں را نثارِ جامِ مے خواہد نمود
مست با عقل آں چناں گردد کہ در روزِ جزا ـ چوں رخِ دلبر فنا شد دیگرش گفت و شنود
درد می یابد شفا از صدقِ دل گر می خورد ـ دردمندے گرچہ در امراض لبس مرہون بود
رو بہ خمار آورد آں کو کہ از روزِ ازل ـ از نقوشِ این و آں لوحِ دلِ او سادہ بود

His death occurred at Shikarpur on the 3rd of Ṣafar 1195 A. H. (Monday, 29th December 1781).

Abu-al-Ḥasan Dāhiri Naqshbandi
(d. 1181/1767)

He was the son of Miyān Bādal, the son of 'Abd-al-Rashīd. His teachers were (a) Abu Bakr Hālāni, (b) Nūr-al-din of Ahmadabad (d. 1155/1742) and (c) Muḥammad Khalīl Badakhshani. His spiritual master was Maulānā 'Abd-al-Rasūl of Ahmadabad (d. 1148/1735).

He wrote several books but his most important book is ینابیع الحیوٰۃ الابدیہ[1] on Taṣawwuf. It is perhaps the most comprehensive book ever written on this subject. It comprises nine chapters, with 108 sub-sections, and beginning thus :-

بہترین سخنے کہ عندلیبانِ چمنِ انوارِ طریقت بداں ترنم نمایند و خوش ترینِ کلامے کہ بلبلانِ گلشنِ اسرارِ حقیقت بآں نغمہ آرائی کشایند حمدِ جزیل و ثنائے جمیل مرآں حکیمے را کہ بہ مقتضائے حکمتِ بالغہ اش، حقیقت و روح و شبح حبیب صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم خود را بذرِ شجرِ حقائق و ارواح و اشباحِ عوالم گردانیدہ و ہر آنچہ در آں بذر عمل داشتہ در شجرِ عوالم منتقل کردہ باز در ثمر باجمال رسانید ـ پس غرض از غرسِ شجرِ عوالم ہمیں ثمر است کہ مثمرِ لولاک و خاتم شجر است صلی اللہ تعالیٰ علیہ وعلیٰ آلہٖ وصحبہٖ وسلم الیٰ یوم الدین ـ ـ ـ

1. Dr. Abu-al-Fath Saghir-al-din had written a Ph. D. thesis on this book and was awarded a degree from the University of Sind in 1972. This passage and the life-accounts have been taken from this research work.

The Naqshbandi saints of Luari (Badin)

The first saint from Luari (Badin) was Makhdūm Muḥammad Zamān I, the son of Haji 'Abd-al-Laṭif Suhrawardī, who had been a disciple of Faiz-allah, the son of Makhdum Muḥammad Ādam of Thatta. Makhdum Muhammad Zaman I was born at Luari in 1125/1713 and died there in 1188/1775. He was educated at Thatta under Maulana Muḥammad Ṣādiq, a pupil of Makhdūm Muḥammad Muīn (d. 1161/1748), and became the disciple of Abu-al-Masākin Ḥajī Muḥammad of Thatta, the son of Muhammad Ashraf b. Makhdum Muhammad Ādam.[1]

Later Makhdūm Muḥammad Zamān's son Gul Muhammad (d. 1218/1803), grandson Muhammad Zaman II (d. 1247/1831) and great-grandson Muhammad Ḥasan (d. 1298/1881) became very popular. Then Muhammad Ḥasan's son Muhammad Saīd (d. 1324/1906) became the torch-bearer of the Naqshbandi order and left the following works :-

صقال الضمائر ۔ تحقیقات اللواری ۔ شرح تکملة الورد المحمدی

The book صقال الضمائر is a life-account of Makhdum Muhammad Ḥasan (who died at Madina) and covers four chapters (besides a preface) on his (1) بشارات (2) عبادات (3) اسفار و وفات (4) ملفوظات ۔ Under chapter III the author has given the account of six Ḥajs performed by his father and has quoted one of his letters as follows :-

برخوردار سعادت یار محمد سعید مدظلہ۔ مراسلہ مشتمل بر رسیدن اشیاء مرسولۂ این طرف و اظہار دید
قصور و خرابی حال خویش نوشته بودند رسید۔ برخوردار، تنگ دل نشوند بقبض و تنگی دل پریشان و از دست
نه روند و صبر فرمایند۔ ع صبوری مایۂ امیدت آرد
تنگی دل و سیه روئی و خرابی خود خوب افتاده است۔ شکر این معنی را بجا آرند۔ این صبر تلخ برای مرلقین قلبی دہند

کیست در این جہان که از ہوا و ہوس برآمده خرابی و ضلالت خود نصب العین و مد نظر خود دارد۔ صاحبان
روضۂ مقدسه قدس اسرارهم فرموده اند، ہرچند ظاہر حال مردود تر و پریشان تر در باطن مقبول تر و ہرچند
مجهول تر در قرب حق نزدیک۔ جامی گوید:۔ ع سیاہی را بود رو در سپیدی
قال الله تعالیٰ: لهم اللیل نسلخ منه النهار۔ از تاریکی نتیجۂ سپیدی برآید۔ ہرچند تاریکی غالب تر بود، نتیجۂ
سپیدی آن روشن تر آید۔ در مکتوبات است که قبض و بسط ہر دو جناح این راه اند۔ در قبض سیر اجمال
سریع تر است که از غایت سرعت و تنگی مفہوم نیست۔ لہذا تنگ دلی پیدا می کند۔ و در بسط به تفصیل است
که مفہوم طالب گردد و خوشدلی پیدا کند۔

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1. For these details see Maulana I. H. Quddusi's تذکرہ صوفیائے سندھ Karachi, 1959, pp. 256-262.
2. See the preface to the Diwan-i-Said, Karachi, 1965.
3. The book was published in Bombay, 1312/1894.

We may quote a passage by Makhdūm Muhammad Said as well. He mentions his spiritual ancestors in these words :-

سلسلهٔ طریقهٔ الٰهی این مسکین بے تسکین، جامع این کلمات سعید محمد سعید را بحرمت شهباز لاهوت، عنقاے جبروت،
ملاذ ملکوت، قائد ناسوت — ز راحتش چو بلبل شوم نغمه زن — ز باغ زمان گل، محمد حسن
قدس سره، بحرمت مهر سپهر دیانت، مرکز دائرهٔ امانت خواجه محمد زمان ثانی قدس سره و بحرمت بحر حلم وحیا،
معدن جود وسخا خواجه گل محمد قدس سره و بحرمت جامع اسرار قطبیت، حاوی انوار غوثیت، واقف اسرار نهان
خواجه محمد زمان کلان صاحب الارشاد فی اللواری خترسه الباری قدس سره و بحرمت قطب سماء ولایت، ماه برج هدایت
خواجه البر المساکین حاجی محمد التتهوی مسکناً والمکی مدفناً قدس سره و بحرمت حضرت مرور متقی خواجه محمد زکی قدس سره
و بحرمت حضرت مهتر عفیف خواجه محمد حنیف قدس سره و بحرمت حضرت قطب امجد ارشد خواجه عبد الاحد قدس سره و
بحرمت حضرت قطب الاقطاب مزید خواجه محمد سعید قدس سره و بحرمت مجمع البحرین، مکمن النورین، مرجع الخافقین،
غوث الثقلین، ملاذ الافراد والاقطاب، ملجأ الاصفیاء والاحباب حضرت خواجه مجدد الف ثانی قدس الله سره السامی --

Makhdūm Muhammad Saïd has, to his credit, a Persian diwan as well. It has been published by his grandson Pir Saïd Ḥasan,(the son of Muḥammad Ashraf, who was the younger brother of Makhdum Aḥmad Zamān, the elder son of Muhammad Saïd) from Karachi in 1965.

A few lines from one of his ghazals may be quoted here :-

از دل و جان وصل جانان را طلب — بے لب و بے کام می گو نام رب
ذکر آمد مایهٔ هر مهتری — کهتران را مهتری زان روز و شب
مهتران از مهتری او مهر وار — کرد روشن جمله عالم بے صعب
ذات حق را دان مبرّا از قیود — قیل و قال آمد دران ترک ادب

Makhdum Muhammad Zaman I had several disciples, but two of them commanded high esteem. They were 'Abd-a-Rahim of Girhori (martyred in 1192/1778) and Qazi Ahmed (d. 1223/1808). The latter has left an anthology on Sufiistic themes and is preserved in the Khanqah of the village, named after him. Maulana Abd-al-Rahim of Girhori has been a great scholar. He has left the following works :-

(1) Fath-al-Fazl, an Arabic Commentary of the Sindhi pieces of advice, given by his spiritual master.

(2) An Arabic Commentary of the Sindhi verses of his master.

(3) A Persian doublet "Gul Nama", written in praise of Gul Muhammad, the son of his master.

(4) A selection of the Maktubat of Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thāni (d. 1034/1624).

(5) A collection of his own verses in Sindhi.

Here are a few lines from his doublet "Gul Nama" :-

گل محمد در منازلها تمام — غیر بلبل این چه داند خاص و عام

دست مفشر کی رسد گل پاک را — خاک را این نور ایمان خاک را

خاک مسحور است بهر بوی گل — جز خرابات نه باشد جای گل

عارف آن باشد که باشد گل شناس — گل ببیند جمله بیند بی قیاس

جان مرجان ولی را دوست نیست — رابطه شان آنچه گل را پوست نیست

خلق پندارد ولی را شهرتی — روی خود بیند اورا رحمتی

تا قیامت آزمائش دائم است — پس به هر دوری ولیی قائم است 1.

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1. کلام گرهوڑی (edited by Dr. Dawudpota), Karachi, 1956, p. 65.

We may now point out some other Naqshbandi saints and give very brief notes on them.

(1) Makhdum 'Abd-al-Wāhid Sehwani (d. 1224/1809). He was a Qazi, Mufiti and a great poet. He wrote several books. He was a Khalifa of Hazrat Ṣafi-allah (d. 1212/1797), the son of Ghulam Muhammd Ma'sum (d. 1161/1748).

(2) Shaikh Muhammad 'Ābid Sehwani (d. 1257/1841). He was a great scholar and author of several books. He was a disciple of Makhdum Muḥammad Zamān II of Luari (d. 1247/1831) and a pupil of Makhdum Muhammad Hāshim of Thatta. He migrated to Madina Sharif.

(3) Makhdum Muḥammad Ibrāhīm of Thatta (d. 1225/1810). He was the son of 'Abd-al-Laṭif, the son of Makhdum Muḥammad Hāshim. He was an author of several books and a Khalifa of Hazrat Ṣafi-allah (d. 1212/1797). He had about 2 million disciples. He died at Mandai (Kutch). His four Khalifa's were very popular in Sind; viz. (a) Ahmad Khan Niẓāmānī, (b) Muḥammad Amīn Chhatrani, (c) Muhammad Ismāīl of Wassin, a village near Piro Lashari (Badin) and (d) 'Abd-al-Laṭif (his own son). Khalifa Muhammad Ismāil's Khalifa Muhammad Yūsuf of Khiyanri (Nawabshah) and the latter's Khalifa Muhammad Faẓl-allah of Pāt (d. 1290/1873) have also been popular.

(4) Makhdum Muhammad 'Āqil (s/o Makhdūm Aḥmadī) who was the son-in-law of Makhdum Muḥammad Ismāil of Piryanlo, and the former's son 'Abd-al-Khāliq also worked for the Naqshbandi order.

(5) Muhammad Ṣālih of Lakhi (Shikarpur), was a disciple of Ghulam Muhy-al din, the son of Shah Muḥammad Ṣādiq, the son of Ghulam Muḥammad Ma'sum (d. 1161/1748).

(6) Qazi Ahmad[1] (d. 1223/1808), the disciple of Makhdum Zaman I (d. 1188/1774) had three very popular Khalifas. (a) 'Adb-al-Wali of Dabra (Noshero Firoz) (b) Miyān Nūr Shah of Khahi Kundha (Noshero-Firoz), and (c) Miyan 'Abd-al-Karim of Pingaro (near Sakrand).

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1. Qazi Ahmad's one more popular Khalifa was Shah Husain of Ratar Chhatar (near Amritsar).

(7) Qazi Muhammad of Shikarpur (died 1230/1815). He was a Khalifa of Hazrat Saif-allah (d. 1212/1797).

(8) Makhdum Ummed 'Ali "Suha" of Hala. He was a disciple of Khwaja 'Abd-al-Qayyūm (d. 1271/1854) and a courtier of Talpurs, who had been sent by the Britishers for confinement at Calcutta. He wrote the سفرنامۂ کلکتہ and died there in 1298/1881.[1]

(9) Makhdūm Bilāl of Ṭalti (Dadu) (a pupil of Makhdūm Dāniyāl) was a disciple of Makhdum Shihab-al-din and also of Pir Muhammad of Bukhara (buried near Talti canal),[2] a descendant of Hazrat Baha-al-din Naqshband of Bukhara (d. 791/1389). He lived in the 10th century A. H. One of his quartrains is as follows :–

در راهِ خدا ز سر قدم باید ساخت ـ سرمایۂ اختیار خود می باید باخت

گر راست بخود نمائی بردن به جهان ـ از خویش بُردن شده سویش می باید تاخت

His disciple Makhdum Suhar was a popular Sufi. Besides the above, the following persons belong to the present period :-

Maulana 'Abd-al-Ghaffār of Larkana (d. 1965), Haji 'Abd-al-Ghaffar Mujaddidi of Tando Muhammad Khan, Muhammad 'Umar Jān of Matyarī, Ghulam Mujaddid of Matli, Muhammad Yusuf Memon of Marho Bola Khan (Sujawal), Ghulam Mustafa of Dadu, Pir Sibghat-allah (Pir Irani) of Hyderabad (d.1986) and Pirs of Wehar (Dadu), Dama.

In order to facilitate those who want to make a further study of the above topic we may mention relevant books (in manuscripts) lying in the various libraries of Sind.

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1. The above accounts are from the journal al-Rahīm "Mashāhir" Number, Hyderabad 1967. See also the Tuhfat-al-Karim (Urdu Translation, 1959) pp. 710-714.

2. Maqala-i-Shuara, p. 92; Maulana Ghulam Muhammad 'Arifi of Mehar has informed Thus about Makhdum Bilal on verbal authority. Maulāna Quddūsi (p. 67) has been mistaken in saying that Makhdūm Bilāl (a name-sake) was buried at Thatta.

(1) University of Sind. (library of Oriental section) :-

مجمع الفیوضات از خلیفہ محمودؒ (فارسی)

(2) Sindhi Adabi Board:—

(الف) حالات و ملفوظاتِ پیر محمد راشدؒ (سندھی)
(ب) ملفوظاتِ پیر محمد راشدؒ (سندھی ترجمہ از عبدالقادر)
(ج) مکتوباتِ منظوم بنام سید صبغۃ اللہؒ (فارسی)
(د) مکتوباتِ پیر محمد راشدؒ
(ہ) ملفوظاتِ سید صبغۃ اللہؒ

(3) Shah Waliullah Academy, Hyderabad:-

اسناد الطریقۃ النقشبندیہ از محمد ابراہیم تتوی (عربی)

(4) Pir Wahb. -allah Shāh, Got-Pir Jhando:—

(الف) کشف الکامن فی علم الباطن از مخدوم عبدالواحد سیوستانیؒ (عربی)
(ب) البسط المقال فی حل الاشغال " " " (فارسی)
(ج) انوار الفیوضات الباطنیہ " " " (عربی)
(د) ورد المحمدیہ (شرح فتح الفضل) " " " (فارسی)

(5) Pir Muhib-allāh Shāh, Got Pir Jhando (Dargah Sharif).

مجاہدہ مع مدعی مشاہدہ و مکاشفہ از پیر رشد اللہؒ (فارسی)

(6) Haji Sher Muhammad Nizamani, Tando Qaisar a Sindhi version of the above.

(7) Khairpur Public Library.

(الف) الرسالتین (رسالۂ عدلیہ از خواجہ محمد پارساؒ - مع شرح رباعیاتِ ابوسعید ابوالخیرؒ)
(ب) رسالۂ تصوفِ طریقۂ نقشبندیہ از شاہ غلام علیؒ (فارسی)
(ج) رسالۂ طریقِ نقشبندیہ از ابو عبدالرحمٰنؒ

(8) Maulana Hāfiz Muhammad Hāshim Jān Sāhib, Tando Sāin-dād.

(۱) شرح قصیدۂ بردہ از مولانا جامیؒ (؟)
(۲) مجموعۂ منظوماتِ جامیؒ (سلسلۃ الذہب، مخزن الاسرار، سبحۃ الابرار)
(۳) مونس المخلصین (اسوۂ حسنہ) از خواجہ عبداللہ جان مجددیؒ
(۴) مکتوبات از خواجہ حسن جان مجددیؒ
(۵) مجموعۂ رسائلِ مجددیہ
(۶) سفرنامۂ حجاز از خواجہ محمد حسن جان مجددیؒ
(۷) رسالۂ تہلیلیہ " " (مطبوعہ لاہور ۱۳۵۴ھ)
(۸) مجموعۂ رسائل (رسالۂ سلوک از میر محمد نعمانؒ - رسالہ چہار چمن از خواجہ عبدالاحد وحدتؒ)
(۹) ینابیع الحیوٰۃ الابدیہ از ابوالحسن داہری نقشبندیؒ
(۱۰) حضرات القدس از خواجہ بدرالدین سرہندیؒ

(۱۱) مجموعۂ رسائل (مبدأ و معاد، تحقیق النبوہ، مقصود الصالحین، التعیین اللہ تعیین، شرح رباعیات، رسالۂ تہلیلیہ، مکاشفاتِ عینیہ، معارف لدنیہ، تجلیات، ردِّ روافض)

(۱۲) نادر الفوائد از محمد فقیر بن عبد الحفیظ متوطن قریہ بھیرہ

(۱۳) شرح حلیۃ النور

(۱۴) جنّت النعیم فی فضائل القرآن العظیم از مخدوم محمد ہاشم ٹھٹوی رح

(۱۵) وظائفِ معصومیؒ (سندھی ترجمہ از مولانا محمد ہاشم جان رح)

(۱۶) یواقیت الحرمین از حضرت مروج الشریعۃ رح

(۱۷) مکتوبات الحرمین " " "

(۱۸) شفاء الامراض از حضرت خواجہ باقی باللہ رح

(۱۹) حالات خواجہ صبغۃ اللہ رح

(۲۰) کشف الغطاء از خواجہ محمد فرخ سرہندی رح

(۲۱) بہجۃ الانظار فی مبردات الابرار از محمد معین ٹھٹوی رح

(۲۲) عمدۃ المقامات از خواجہ فضل اللہ مجددی رح

(۲۳) البہجۃ السنیۃ فی آداب الطریقۃ النقشبندیہ

(۲۴) انساب الانجاب از خواجہ محمد حسن جان رح

(۲۵) ہدیۂ احمدیہ

(۲۶) ہدایۃ الطالبین از شاہ ابو سعید دہلوی رح

(۲۷) تفسیر حضرت یعقوب چرخی رح

(۲۸) اوجِ موترد (اسرارِ نقشبندؒ) از خواجہ نظام الدین شمکارپوری رح

(۲۹) مجموعہ مفتاح اللطائف از اسلم نقشبندی رح مع جواہر مجددیہ۔ سبع اسرار۔ کحل الجواہر

(۳۰) ردِّ شبہات از شاہ غلام علی رح

(۳۱) مجموعۂ رسائل (حیاتِ باقی رح۔ جواہر معصومیہ۔ مکتوبات خواجہ باقی باللہ رح از محمد صدیق رح)

(۳۲) رشحات از علی بن حسین واعظ کاشفیؒ

(۳۳) مکتوبات معصومیہ رح

(۳۴) انیس المریدین از خواجہ محمد حسن جان رح

(۳۵) مجموعہ الطریقۃ المحمدیہ، خزانۃ الفقہ، اربعین فی اصول الدین از خواجہ محمد حسن جان رح

(۳۶) چہل حدیث از مولانا جامی رح

(۳۷) رسالۂ تاجیہ از شیخ تاج الدین سنبھلی رح (نقل از نسخۂ مولانا عطا محمد صاحب۔ قصبہ جودھو آن ضلع اسمٰعیل خان)

(۳۸) سرور المحزون (سندھی ترجمہ از مولانا محمد ہاشم جان رح)

(۳۹) لطائفِ رحمانی فی مناقب امامِ ربانی رح از مخدوم سلام اللہ رح (سندھی)

Besides the above, there are other private libraries in various parts of Sind where some manuscripts are still accessible to the readers.

SHAIKH 'ABDUL-HAQQ MUHADDITH-I-DIHLAWI'

His Ancestors

Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq, a celebrated scholar, theologian, mystic and a voluminous author in Arabic and Persian, lived in Delhi, the capital of the undivided India. Both from the 'spear' side, as well as from the 'distaff' lineage, he inherited nobility, piety and scholarship. From the 'spear' side he descended from Agha Muhammad Turk, a native of Bukhara and the chief of his clan. He came over to India, along with his people, and settled at Delhi during the reign of Sultan 'Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 A.D.). The Sultan patronized him for his excellence and gave him his share in the court. Later, when he sent an expedition to Gujrat, to conquer it and subjugate the insurgents, Agha Muhammad Turk accompanied it on the same errand. There he stayed and took his abode. He had 101 sons, but all of them died, except the eldest one, called Muizzuddin. Agha Muhammad felt despaired, so he came back to Delhi, along with his son. There he died on the 17th of Rabi II 739/2nd November 1338 and was buried on the back-side of the Idgah-i-Shamsi.

Muizzuddin, too, was bestowed with innumerable virtues and blessings:-

حق سبحانه تعالی ملک معزالدین را چنان کرد گویا جمیع فیض و استعداد و نعم آن صد کس را هم بوی تنها ارزانی داشت۔

He died at Delhi and left one son Malik Musa. After Firuz Shah Tughlaq (d. 790/1388), when the Sultanate of Delhi experienced political turmoil, Malik Musa returned to Transoxiana. There he lived for a few years, but then came back to Delhi, along with the forces of Timur, in 801/1398. [1]

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1. All these details are found in the Shaikh's Akhbar-al-Akhyar (Mujtabai Press Delhi) pp. 289-290. Another valuable source of information is the مرآة الحقائق by Barkat 'Ali, a talented descendant of the Shaikh, who gives details of the progeny till the year 1319/1902 (see page 132 of the Rampur 'Azizi Press edition 1322/1904). Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami has availed of it in his learned book حیات شیخ عبدالحق محدث دہلوی (Delhi, 1953).

   Luckily, Dr. Najmul Islam (Professor, Department of Urdu, University of Sind) has got a copy of the مرآة الحقائق which has been in the possession of another descendant of the Shaikh, called Islamul-Haqq, who has made corrections and some improvements, in his own hand-writing, on various places of the book (photostat copies attached in the end of this article).

Malik Musa left several sons. One of them was Shaikh Firuz. He was a great warrior. He went on an expedition to Bahraich (U.P.), where he was killed in 860/1455. In the Akhbar-al-Akhyar he is recalled thus:-

شیخ فیروز جامع فضائلِ صوری و معنوی و وهبی و کسبی بود، در علم سپاه گری و وقائعِ حرب نادرِ زمان خود بود۔ و در اکثر
صنائعِ حربیه بقوتِ طبع و جودتِ سلیقه بے نظیرِ وقت و در علم و شعر و شجاعت و سخاوت و ظرافت و لطافت و عشق و محبت و
سائر صفاتِ حمیده بے عدیلِ عصر۔ و در دولت و حشمت و جاه و مکنت و عزت و عظمت، مشهورِ روزگار۔
معنیٔ حلاوت و شعر و ظرافت در خانۂ ما از وے پیدا شد۔ او در اوائلِ عهدِ سلطان بهلول خان لودهی
بود۔ قصۂ آمدنِ سلطان حسین شرقی را و محاربۂ وے با بهلول نظم کرده۔ (1)

His son Sadullah was born after him at Delhi. He inherited many virtues of his father. He became a disciple of Muhammad Mangan, a great Sufi of his times. His elder son Rizqullah "Mushtaqi", too, became his disciple. Sadullah died on the 22nd of Rabi I 928/19th Feb., 1522. His two sons Rizqullah (897/1492-989/1581) and Saifuddin "Saifi" (920/1514-990/1582) rose to eminence. Both of them were poets and great scholars of the age. Shaikh Abdul Haqq, the son of the later, writes about his father in details and pays rich tributes to him for his piety and scholarship.[2]

His Birth and Education

Shaikh Abul Majd 'Abdu'l Haqq "Haqqi" was born at Delhi in Muharram 958/January 1551. He received early education under his father, who often told him the tales of pious people and thus created in him an interest for piety, religious austerity and spiritual sanctity.

The Shaikh has himself given the details of his education. At one place he writes:-

دوازده یا سیزده ساله بودم که شرحِ شمسیه و شرحِ عقائد می خواندم و پانزده یا شانزده که مختصر و مطول را گذرانیدم و بیشتر یا بیشتر یک
سال از عددے که ظرفاً در شمارِ عمر از ذکر آن ملاحظه کنند (یعنی تقریباً در عمرِ هیژده سالگی) از علوم عقلی و نقلی آنچه در افاده و استفاده
از صورت و ماده کافی و وافی باشد تمام کردم و الحمد لله که بعد از آن بحفظِ قرآن مجید موفق شدم و در کنفِ حفظ در آمدم و در
مدتِ یکسال و چیزے این امهت را که در صد سال شکرِ حرفِ ازان ادا نتوانم کرد بدست آوردم و بالجمله بهمین قیاس که بر خواندم
بر سائر کتب عبورے کردم و عشورے نمودم۔ غیر آنکه مدتِ هفت هشت سال بلکه زیاده بعد از رسیدن به کتبِ عربیت و منطق و
کلام و حصولِ نوعے از قوتِ اکمال و اتمام، ملازمتِ درسِ بعضے از دانشمندانِ ماوراء النهر بطورے نموده شد که بر تمامی
شب و روز شاید که دو سه ساعت از مطالعه و تعقل و اشتغال فرصتے دست نمی داده باشد۔ و چون بمددِ توجهِ باطنِ استادان
در اثنای درس بحثها و سخنهای مفید از طبعِ خاطرِ این حقیر می زائید اکثر این عزیزان می گفتند که ما از تو مستفیدیم و ما را بر تو
منتے نیست۔۔۔۔ (3)

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1. Akhbar-al-Akhyar, p. 290.
2. Ibid, pp. 291-300.
3. Ibid, pp. 301-302. The religious scholars of ماوراء النهر (Transoxiana), who are mentioned in the above passage, had much influenced our country during that period. Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani (d. 1034/1624), too, acknowledges their indebtedness in his Maktubat I (18, 180).

The Shaikh then narrates how busy he had been in the school age. His untiring search for knowledge had been so much so that he did not care even for his meals. He never indulged himself in games, nor the made any friends. He went to his 'madrasa' before sun-rise, came back to his mother for a few morsels in the noon and again went there and studied upto the late hours of the night. Thus he covered daily about eight miles on foot. Then after his return in the nights he again sat for his studies and slept only for a few hours. Being fully immersed in studies he sometimes burnt his turban and hair with the lamp. But such deep studies never made him a 'blunt' or 'ragged' school man. He had a 'loving' heart, as he himself says:-

بے درد نیستم ہرگز از عشق - دل ہم دلِ دردناک داریم [1]

At the age of twenty, when he had completed all 'theoretical' and 'traditional' learnings (علوم عقلیہ و نقلیہ)[2], he became a teacher.[3] Most probably, it was at this age and stage that he got married, because the date of the birth of his eldest son Nur-al-Haqq is recorded as 983/1575.[4]

Irreligious Activities of the Age

Towards the end of the 10th century A.H. (16th century A.D.) the religious and social conditions of the country were changed. The emperor Akbar (d. 1014/1605) felt disgusted because of the 'uncalled for' religious discussions of the court literati, whoeven, misguided him. In 987/1579 Shaikh Mubarak (d. 1001/1592), the father of Faizi (d. 1004/1595) and Abul-Fazl (d. 1011/1602), prepared a document (محضر نامہ), under the signatures of various learned men, delegating all spiritual and secular authority in the emperor. He was thus authorised to decide all legal questions on which there existed a difference of opinion. The plea was that the Islamic Shariat then needed amendment after a long period of about one thousand years.

Al-Badaoni has given the details of such 'irreligious' irregularities at the scattered places[5] of his history "Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh", which covers events upto 1004/1595. At one place he says:-

> "The emperor—was possessed of an excellent disposition and was an earnest searcher after truth, but very ignorant and a mere tyro; after five or six years not a trace of Islam was left in him, and everything was turned topsy turvy [6]." "And everything that pleased him he picked and chose from anyone except a Muslim, and any thing that was against

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1. All these details are given in the Akhbar-al-Akhyar, pp. 302, 303.
2. Also Calligraphy, letter-writing and other prevalent learning of the age (Ibid).
3. Abdul-Hamid's Badshah Nama, Part II, pp. 241, 242.
4. مرآۃ الحقائق p. 115. His second son was `Ali Muhammad and the third one was Muhammad Hashim.
5. W. H. Lowe's translation, p. 262-337, etc.
6. Ibid, p. 263.

his disposition and ran counter to his wishes he thought fit to reject and cast a side.[1]" Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-Thani (971/1563-1034/1624), as apparent from the events, hastened to Akbar's Capital Agra, (sometime in the last decade of the 10th century A.H.), to discuss and discard such heretical irregularities. There he met Faizi as well, who was then writing his Quranic commentary سواطع الالہام with undotted letters, and helped him, to a certain extent, with such Arabic extracts[2]. But his younger brother Abul-Fazl was arrogant in his discussions. He even abused the Muslim thinkers and religious doctors and blasphemed them. Furthermore, he denied the necessity of prophethood and also the tenets of Islam. Hazrat Mujaddid writes in his Arabic treatise اثبات النبوہ thus:-

> "Nowadays I found that people's faith in prophethood and in its proof for a particular personality has shaken and that slackness has prevailed in leading life according to the ways prescribed or legislated by prophethood. This condition in people's belief has so worsened that a despotic ruler of our age (Akbar) extended unspeakable miseries and hardships to the religious doctors who rigidly followed Islamic tenets and believed in the prophets. Even several such Ulama have been killed[3]. He has abolished even mentioning of the name of the Holy Prophet (peace!) in his court and changed names of people which were after him (the prophet). He has disallowed cow slaughter, common amongst the Muslims. He has desolated the mosques and the Muslim graves. On the contrary, he has venerated the temples of the infidels, their customs and their festival ceremonies. In short, he refuted all Islamic fundamental articles and signs, and has adopted all customs and beliefs of the Non-Muslims. Non-Islamic tenets have been published and several Sanskrit works translated into Persian, and this step is taken just to set aside the Islamic literature. Thus the disease of doubt and disobedience to Islam has become an epidemic' and the physicians themselves are the victims of the disease. Public are put to destruction and detour. Eventually, I tried to search out their beliefs, enquired people about their doubts in religion and found that the slackening of belief and the weakness of faith were due to (a) the remoteness of the Holy prophet's times, (b) dedication to ill-advised philosophy, and (c) study of the works of the Hindu thinkers. I discussed these matters with people (a) who had studied such philosophy, (b) availed of the learnings of the infidels and thus claimed فضل (=excellence, hence "Abul Fazl") and led people and themselves astray, in ascertaining the origin of prophethood and in its proof for a particular personality, and (c) had gone further to say that the purpose of prophethood

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1. Ibid, p 263.
2. Muhammad Hashim Kishhmi's Zubdat-al Maqamat (Lucknow 1307 A. H.), p. 133.
3. The exile and killing of the religious doctors began since 990/1582 (Badaoni. Tr. by Lowe, p. 285), hence it is apparent that Hazrat Mujaddid went to agra after that date.

was nothing but to plead wisdom and goodwill and to correct the outward conditions of people, to give them freedom in their desires and to protect them against mutual differences and disputes and that it had nothing to do with the salvation in the Hereafter———."[1]

His Hajj

Being disgusted with these conditions Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq had no recourse but to keep himself away[2] from the scene. Then an impulse stirred within him to perform Hajj. Consequently, he left Delhi for Gujrat Sea-port[3] in 995/1587. In the course of his journey he stayed, for a few days, with Mirza 'Aziz Koka (Akbar's foster-brother) at Mando (Malwa). Thence he proceeded to Ahmadabad, where Nizamuddin (the writer of the Tabaqat-i-Akbari) was his host.[4] The Shaikh went to see Shaikh Wajihuddin'Alawi (910/1504-997/1589) there and was spiritually benefited by him.[5]

The Shaikh then started[6] for Makka and reached there much before the month of Ramazan 996/July 1588, as he could relearn, before that time, the Holy Traditions of Bukhari and Muslim from some 'traditionists' and also some parts of the Mishkat from Maulana 'Abdul-Wahhab Mutaqqi (who had shifted from Mando (Malwa) to Makka). Along with the latter, the Shaikh observed last ten days[1] اعتکاف of Ramazan in Makka, then performed Hajj and again learnt the same book from him, till he started for the Holy City of Madina on the 23rd Rabi II 997/Ist March 1589.

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1. اثبات النبوۃ (Karachi, 1383/1963), pp. 10-11.
2. Professor Khaliq Ahmed Nizami, pp. 95-96.
3. Surat was its sea-port at that time.
4. Ibid. Nizamuddin was one of those writers, during Akbar's reign, who avoided writing of the Holy Prophet's praise in the beginning of their books. He wrote events in his history upto 1002/1592.
5. Akhbar-al-Akhyar, p. 159. Shaikh Wajihuddin vehemently discarded the Mahdawi sect in his Malfuzat (see the present writer's 'Ilmi Nuqush (Karachi, 1957), p. 104).
6. The writer of the مرآۃ الحقائق referring to the Shaikh's treatise بہجۃ الاسرار (p. 21), says that the Shaikh felt much pleased to hear from a Qadiri Darwesh, in the ship, the cries like یا جیلانی شیئاً للہ (O Jilani saint, give me some thing for Allah's sake.)

In Madina Munawwara[1] the Shaikh stayed till the end of Rajab 998/April 1590. Then he came back to Makka and completed the study of the Mishkat under the same teacher. He stayed in the خلوت (private room) behind the Ka'ba and received further spiritual guidance and also lessons from the Holy tradition 'Muslim'.

The Shaikh then performed his second Hajj in 998/1590, and again received instructions from the same spiritual guide. In Sha'ban 999[2] May 1591 he went to Taif to visit the tomb of Hazrat Abdullah b. 'Abbas and returned to Makka in the following month. The Shaikh then wanted to go to Baghdad, but the teacher asked him to go back to India, as he was awaited by his mother and the family. He, therefore, reluctantly, made up his mind to obey his master and consequently he came to Jaddah and took a seat in a ship and reached India by the end of the same year (999/1591).

The Shaikh's Spiritual Guides

The Shaikh has the proud privilege of having spiritual guidance from several quarters. In his childhood he was guided by his father Saifuddin.[3] The second spiritual guide was Sayyid Musa (d. 998/1590), the son of Sayyid Hamid "Ganj Bakhsh" (d. 978/1571) of Qadiri order of saints, living at Uchh (near modern Ahmadpur Sharqiyya, Bahawalpur). He became his disciple at Delhi on the Ist of Shawwal 985/12th December 1577.[4]

When the Shaikh was going for Hajj he stayed at Ahmadabad and was spiritually guided and benefited (in 996/1588) by Shaikh Wajihuddin 'Alawi (d. 997/1589).[5]

In Makka the Shaikh was guided by Maulana 'Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi of the same Qadiri order, with which he had so far been attached.[6] His fifth spiritual guide was Khwaja Baqibillah

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1. The writer of the مرآة الحقائق (quoting from the Shaikh's works فہرس التوالیف وزاد المتقین and فتح المنان فی تائید مذہب النعمان) says (pp. 22-29) that the Shaikh saw the Holy Prophet, in his dreams, thrice in Madina, and again on the 21st night of ذی الحجہ 998/11th October 1590 in Makka, and that he dreamt of Hazrat, Ali, after his second Hajj. Referring to the third book (quoted above) he has given details how the Shaikh tended to be a Shafiite but restored to Hanafite belief because of the guidance of his teacher.
2. The same writer has discussed (p.30) the dates of the Shaikh's Akhbar-al-Akhyar, that its first phase was completed in 993 /1584, the second one in 996 /1588 and the third one in 999/ 1591, when he had returned from Hajj.
3. The same writer has quoted (p.32) from the Shaikh's وصیت نامہ thus :-
   والدم را برمن حق پدری و استادی و دوستی و پیری جمع است ---
4. He became his disciple according to the advice of his father(see مرآة الحقائق p32).
5. Akhbar-al- Akhyar, p.159 (mentioned supra).
6. The writer of the مرآة الحقائق (pp.33-34) has called it "Qadiri Shadhiti" and referred to the زاد المتقین which gives the Shaikh's attainments in that order.

d. 1012/1603), the famous exponent of the 'Naqshbandi' order in the Sub-Continent. The Shaikh says about him thus:-

چون به هندوستان آمدم صحبت افتاد مرا با خواجهٔ خواجگان محمد باقی نقشبندی رح ، مدتے مشق نسبت خواجگان کرده طریقهٔ مراقبه
و ذکر و رابطه و حضور و یاد داشت حاصل نمودم (1)

The Shaikh's seven letters, in the beginning of his Maktubat, addressed to Khwaja Baqi-billah, display his high scholarship in the religious and spiritual learnings. As desired by his spiritual guide, he has given a free persian translation of Ahmad b. Ibrahim Wasiti's Arabic treatise on "Faqr-i-Muhammadi" in his fifth letter.

In letter No. 50 he has quoted a statement by Khwaja Baqi-billah, regarding "the retention of breath", as practised by some spiritualists. Hazrat Mujaddid has quoted the Shaikh in his Maktubat (I, 291), saying that Khwaja Baqi-billah had, in his last days, improved upon his pantheistic views. He has also addressed two letters to the Shaikh (I, 115 and II, 29), one on spiritual matters and the other on receiving condolence from the Shaikh on the death of his (former's) son Muhammad Sadiq[2] (d. 1025/1616) and also as an acknowledgement of his efforts for the renovation of Islam. In another letter (I, 249) Hazrat Mujaddid recommends the case of the Shaikh's friend Shaikh Ismail to Mirza Darab (d. 1034/1624) son of 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan.

In the collection of the Shaikh's letters there are ten addressed to Nawab Murtaza Khan (d. 1025/1616) and five to 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan (d. 1036/1626), and they are all on religious and spiritual instructions (and even on Naqshbandi[3] order). These facts show that how close the Shaikh had been with the Naqshbandi people.

The Shaikh had again one more spiritual guide and it was Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jilani (d. 561/1166) himself, to whom he swore spiritual allegiance in a dream.[4]

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1. رساله وصیت والمکاتیب (See 'Irfaniyat-i-Baqi by Nizamuddin Kazimi, Delhi 1970, p.7). The Shaikh has been referred to in Rushdi's Hayat-i-Baqia (a diary of some daily events) under Friday, the second of Jumada I, 1010 A.H. and under Saturday, the 17th Jumada II, 1012. The writer of the مرآة الحقائق (p.35) has quoted a chronogram الصراط المستقیم (= 1012 A.H.) by the Shaikh on the death of Khwaja Baqi-billah.
2. He had died of plague in 1025 A.H. The Shaikh explained the religious guidance to his son Nural Haqq, regarding plague, in his Maktub No.64; and this guidance must have been given in that year.
3. e.g. letter No.22 to Khan-i- Khanan. In a letter (No.17) to Nawab Murtaza Khan the Shaikh gives hints at Akbar's demerits in adopting a new religion and desires that the same letter be presented to the new ruler Jahangir.
4. The writer of the مرآة الحقائق has quoted this dream (p.35) from a note of the Shaikh's Arabic work زبدة الآثار, which was a summary of the بهجة الاسرار, an Arabic book on Shaikh

The Shaikh and Faizi

The above-mentioned collection (of the Shaikh's letters) contains a letter (No. 20) addressed to Faizi (d. 1004/1595). Therein he discards worldly pleasures and in a way discourages the addressee in such indulgence. He quotes this verse as well:-

تو داغِ جگر را چه شناسی که نبوده ست ۔ جز از پئے گلرنگ به دامانِ تو داغے

The Shaikh had intimacy with Faizi and had been in his company at Fath-pur Sikri. But when he returned from the Holy Places in 999/1591 and fully knew about the sacrilege of Islam at the hands of Faizi and his people, he avoided any relations with him and wrote apologising letters which meant disjunction:-

مکاتیبِ عذر آمیز نوشت و انقطاع را بہانہ ساخت (1)

Faizi's seventeen letters (لطیفۂ فیاضی) to the Shaikh, collected by his (former's) nephew (sister's son) Nuruddin Muhammad 'Abdullah, speak of the extreme love and faith of the writer for the addressee, yet the Shaikh cared not a bit for them, and when Faizi died, he wrote in the فہرس التوالیف thus:-

.....فیضی اگرچہ کہ در فصاحت و بلاغت و متانت و رضانت سخن ممتازِ روزگار بود ۔ ولیکن حیف کہ بجہتِ وقوع و
ہبوط در ہاویۂ کفر و ضلالت، رقمِ انکار و ادبار بر ناصیۂ احوالِ خود کشیدہ ۔ زبانِ اہلِ دین و ملتِ جنابِ نبوت را از بردنِ
نامِ وے و نامِ جماعتِ شومِ وے باک است ۔ تاب اللہ علیہم ان کانوا مؤمنین (2)

=Although Faizi was a distinguished man of his times, because of his eloquence, elegance, force and vigour of style, yet unfortunately, by putting himself in the depths of infidelity and aberration he brought upon the forehead of his affairs the mark of such denial and negation that even a reference of his name or of the name of his wretched party is derogatory for the believers of the Holy Prophet (peace!). May Allah accept their repentance, if they are Muslims.

These words would probably be enough to understand the real state of affairs of those who had worked for Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi.

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1. Badaoni, Vol. III, p. 116.
2. مرآۃ الحقائق p.111. The فہرس التوالیف also contains (as the writer of the مرآۃ الحقائق says on page 27) a personal account, by the Shaikh, from his childhood upto 999/1591, when he returned from the Holy places.

The Shaikh and Hazrat Mujaddid

When the Shaikh returned from the Holy places he further knew what Akbar's court had done towards spoiling Islam and establishing a new religion Din-i-Ilahi. He then kept himself busy in writing books on the Holy Traditions and the related topics.

Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani (Shaikh Ahmad Faruqi of Sirhind)was another disciple of Khwaja Baqi-billah - very dear and highly venerated. He,too, beheld what was happening against Islam. He had written his Arabic treatise اثبات النبوة against the beliefs of Abul Fazl, the prime minister of Akbar. Eventually, he was not a personality to act as a silent picture or to keep himself aloof from the scene. Definitely he knew what the Holy Prophet (peace!) had said:-

(۱) عن ابی سعید الخدری رض قال سمعت رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم یقول: من رای منکم منکراً فلیغیره بیده فان لم یستطع فبلسانه
فان لم یستطع فبقلبه وذلك اضعف الایمان (رواه مسلم)

= Abu Said Khudri states that he heard the Holy Prophet (peace!) saying: "If anyone of you beholds something against Islam, he should turn it down by his hand; and if he cannot do so, he should refute it by his tongue; and if he cannot do even this much, he should disown it in his heart, but this is the sign of the weakest faith."

(۲) عن ابی سعید الخدری رض عن النبی صلی الله علیه وسلم قال: افضل الجهاد کلمة عدل عند سلطان جائر.

= Abu Said Khudri states that the Holy Prophet (peace!) said, "The best Jihad (Holy war) is to speak the truth (rectitude) before a despotic ruler."

Hazrat Mujaddid acted upon the Ist Holy Tradition (quoted above) during the reign of Akbar and followed the 2nd Holy Tradition in the Court of Jahangir and was consequently put behind bars at Gwaliar in 1028/1619.

We have seen above that Hazrat Mujaddid had, in his early age, gone to Agra and personally discussed religious matters with Abul Fazl and others who denied the purpose of 'prophet hood' and even Islam (then he wrote the Arabic treatise, (اثبات النبوة). Later, he wrote his Maktubat (three big volumes) mostly on religious matters, always pleading[1] for following the Shariat, and addressing almost all the top-most officers,within and without the court. Subsequently he even ventured to see the Emperor Jahangir (Vol.II, 92) at Agra and spoke the truth, as a result of which he had to see the prison.

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1. When Jahangir was to ascend the throne in 1014 / 1605, Hazrat Mujaddid wrote to Nawwab Farid (Vol.I,47) to induce him for adopting Islamic Ideals. See also his Maktubat (Vol. I, 65, 81, 193 and Vol.II, 67).

Jahangir's mind had been poisoned by some courtiers against Hazrat Mujaddid, merely by misrepresentation and misinterpretation of his letter No. 11 (Vol. I), although he had already tried to remove the misunderstanding through his letter No. 192 and 202 (Vol. I).

Hazrat Mujaddid's imprisonment was ordered on the 22nd Khurdad 1028 A.H. (22nd May 1619) and after about six months the Shaikh ('Abdul-Haqq) saw the emperor at Delhi on the 15th Adhar 1028 A.H. (___ December 1619), presented him his book Akhbar-al-Akhyar and was honoured for his excellence and piety.[1] But perhaps the Shaikh did not speak any word of recommendation for his fellow-spiritualist (Hazrat Mujaddid) to the emperor, because no reference about him is recorded. The Shaikh had, however, differed from Hazrat Mujaddid on some points,[2] specially because of the latter's Maktub No.87 (Vol. III), and had expected the rank of a "Mujaddid" for a person[3] (most probably for himself) and like Hazrat Mujaddid he, too, wanted to write a book on the اثبات النبوة.[4]

Later, the Shaikh was reconciled[5] to Hazrat Mujaddid, and the letter was reconciled to life of seclusion and worldly separation[6] till his death in 1034/1624.

The Shaikh wrote a treatise رسالۂ نورانیۂ سلطانیہ (on the principles of ruler-ship) for Jahangir, apparently after his meeting with him in 1028/1619.

Towards the end of Jahangir's reign some misunderstanding was created by some jealous people between the emperor and the Shaikh. Dara Shukoh writes in his Sakinat-al-Auliya thus:-

در وقتے کہ جہانگیر بادشاہ در کشمیر بودند، بعضے مردان، سخنان غیر واقع از طرف شیخ عبدالحق دہلوی کہ

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1. Tuzk-i-Jahangiri II (Urdu Tr. Lahore 1970) ,pp. 118,140. A jagir "بکر و الا" was also offered to him, which he reluctantly accepted.
2. Maulana Abul Hasan Zaid Faruqi has critically examined several such points of difference in his learned work حضرت مجدد اور اُن کے ناقدین (Delhi 1977), pp.141-166, and also the Shaikh's lengthy letter, quoted by Professor Nizami in his book "Hayat-i-Shaikh's `Abdul Haqq" (Delhi 1953) pp. 312-344. Hazrat Mujaddid refers to the Shaikh's misunderstanding in his letter No.121, Vol. III.
3. Shaikh's Maktubat (No. 22) and Maraj-al-Bahrain (Karachi 1968), p.47. See also Hazrat Mujaddid's letter No. 4, Vol. II.
4. Maraj-al-Bahrain, p.25.
5. Professor Nizami, p.312. See also Shaikh's letter in the end of the Akhbar-al-Akhyar (Delhi, 1332 A.H.), page 326.
6. Dr.Siraj Ahmed Khan has discussed in his thesis مکتوباتِ امامِ ربانی رح کی دینی اور معاشرتی اہمیت (Karachi, 1975, pp.116-126) the dates of Hazrat Mujaddid's release in 1029/1620, his furlough 1031 / 1622 and his final relinquishment in the beginning of 1033 / 1624, and then his worldly

امام محدثانِ وقت اند و مرزا حسام الدین کہ از مریدانِ باکمالِ شیخ احمد سرہندی بودہ اند، بعرض بادشاہ رسانیدند۔ ①

= At the time when the king Jahangir was in Kashmir, some people spoke certain unwarrantable words to him against 'Abdul Haqq, the leader of the Holy Traditionists of the age, and also against Mirza Husamuddin (d. 1043/1633), a disciple (of perfection) of (Khwaja Baqi-billah and) Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhind.

Both the Shaikh and Mirza Husamuddin were asked to present themselves before the king in Kashmir, but when the Shaikh was at Lahore and had met Miyan Mir (d. 1045/1635), another Qadiri saint of eminence, the news of the death of Jahangir (d. 1037/1628) reached. Subsequently , the Shaikh returned to Delhi.

His Death

Now, the Shaikh again engaged himself in writing books till he died on the 22nd Rabi I, 1052 A.H./10th June, 1642, and was buried near the Hauz-i-Shamsi at Delhi.[2]

The Shaikh's Works.

The writer of the مرآة الحقائق has given a complete and exhaustive list of the Shaikh's works (pp. 48-70). During the school-age the Shaikh wrote the following three books:-

(1) نکات العشق والمحبة

(2) الافکار الصافیہ and

(3) آداب المطالعہ (Persian doublet).

Before going to Hajj in 996/1588 he began to write the[3] اخبار الاخیار (its first phase in 993/1584 and the last phase in 999/1591) and completed the آداب الصالحین. In 998/1590 he started writing the جذب القلوب at Madina and completed it at Delhi in[4] 1001/1593.

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1. Professor Nizami , p. 148. He has discussed reasons for those " unwarrantable" words against the Shaikh.
2. The epitaph (as quoted in the مرآة الحقائق, p.93-94) has a mistake in the chronogram فخر عالم (= 1021 A.H.). It must be فخر العالم (=1052 A.H.).
3. See the مرآة الحقائق, pp. 30, 42.

At Makka he began to write the زاد المتقين which he completed at Delhi in 1003/1595.[1] In 1000/1592 he wrote the شرح سفر السعادة[2]

At Delhi he wrote the رسالهٔ نورانیه سلطانیه for Jahangir[3] (apparently after his meeting in 1028/1619), on the principles of rulership, so also the ترجمة الاحاديث for Shah Jahan (1037/1628-1068/1658). In 1016/1607 he completed the history ذکر ملوک تاریخ سلاطین ہند[4] and in 1023/1614 he prepared the commentary[5] مفتاح فتوح (شرح فتوح الغيب as chronographic name = 1023 A.H.). Another date of his works is that of the اشعة اللمعات which is recorded as 1019/1610 to 1025/1616.[6]

=The Shaikh had himself prepared a list of his works, entitled فهرس التواليف. Therein he mentions his 49 works and at its end he says:-

ہنوز سلسلۂ سخن درازاست و در فیض الٰہی باز تا بکجا رسد و بکجا رساند

The chain of speech is still long and the door of the Divine grace is open. Let us see where it reaches and to which place it carries. Then eleven more works are recorded to his credit. Now we may mention them subject-wise here:-

(a) On Quranic Commentary he wrote the following books:-

(۱) التعليق الحاوی علی تفسير البيضاوی (7)

(۲) شرح مسور تفسير آيت النور

(۳) تحصيل الغنائم والبرکات بتفسير سورة والعاديات (8)

(b) On Quranic Orthoepy he wrote two books:-

(۱) درة الفريد فی قواعد التجويد

(۲) شرح القصيدة الجزريه (9)

(c) On the Holy Traditions he has to his credit the following books:-

(۱) اشعة اللمعات فی شرح المشكوٰة

This is a Persian commentary of the Mishkat, which took six year's labour. It comprises four big volumes and covers the following topics:-

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1. Ibid, p.43. But Professor Muhammad Shafi's Catalogue of Manuscripts (page 417) gives its date as 1016 A.H.
2. Ibid, p.56. But Professor Nizami writes (p. 173 n) that it was completed in 1033 / 1624.
3. Ibid , p.43 the name نورانیه suggests that the treatise would have been written much after 1020 / 1610, when Nur-jahan (then Mihrun- Nisa) was married to Jahangir and not in the beginning of his reign ,as stated in the تاریخ ادبیات مسلمانان (Lahore, 1971) p.150 and Professor Nizami, p. 14, Vol. IV.
4. Ibid, p. 43.
5. Ibid, p. 43 and 57.
6. Ibid p. 44.
7. Some notes on the commentary of Abdullah b. Umar al-Baizawi (d. 690 / 1291)
8. See the Shaikh's letter No. 58 to his son Nurul-Haqq.
9. A commentary on the versified Quranic Orthoepy by Shaikh Muhammad " al- Jazari" (833 / 1430).

Vol. I: كتاب الايمان - كتاب العلم - كتاب الطهارت - كتاب الصلوٰة — كتاب الجنائز

Vol. II: كتاب الزكوٰة - كتاب الصوم - كتاب الفضائل القرآن - كتاب الدعوات - كتاب اسماء الله تعالى - كتاب المناسك

Vol. III: كتاب البيوع - كتاب العتق - كتاب الحدود - كتاب الامارت و القضاء

Vol. IV: كتاب الجهاد - كتاب الصيد و الذبائح - كتاب الاطعمه - كتاب اللباس - كتاب الطب و الرقى
كتاب الآداب - كتاب الفتن

The contents themselves speak of their importance. During the reign of Jahangir, when the Shariat was ignored and even rebuked, the Shaikh brought forth such valuable book[1] for the guidance of Muslims and paved a way for the study of the Hadith.

(٢) لمعات التنقيح فى شرح مشكوٰة المصابيح

It is an Arabic commentary[2] of the various points of the Hadith, which the Shaikh thought fit to discuss while he was writing the Persian commentary of the Mishkat.

(٣) جامع البركات منتخب شرح المشكوٰة

It was a summary of the شرح المشكوٰة in two volumes, now extinct.[3]

(٤) اسماء الرجال والرواة المذكورين فى كتاب المشكوٰة

It contains, in Arabic, a list of all the narrators of the Holy Traditions as referred to in the Mishkat. The list is preceded by the accounts of the pious Caliphs and the family members of the Holy Prophet (peace!).[4]

(٥) ماثبت بالسنة فى ايام السنة

It is an Arabic treatise on the Holy Traditions, regarding the importance of various days and months of the year.[5]

(٦) شرح سفر السعادت

It is a Persian commentary on the سفر السعادت by Majduddin Firozabadi (729/1329-817/1414). It contains Traditions regarding the Holy Prophet's worships and practices. The Shaikh has added discussions[6] on the narrators of the Traditions and given preference to Imam Abu Hanifa.

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1. It was published by the Newal Kishore press, Lucknow. Its manuscript copies are preserved in the British Museum, Islamia College Library Peshawar , Bankipore, Aligharh, etc.
2. Its manuscript copies are found in Bankipore, Rampur, Delhi etc. It has not been published so far.
3. It is mentioned in the Shaikh's فهرس التواليف only.
4. It is preserved in Bankipore.
5. Its manuscript copies are preserved in Bankipore, Ramupur, Delhi, Hyderabad(Deccan) etc.
6. The Shaikh has suggested some 64 works (and even more) to his son Nurul- Haqq to consult for the work, if he himself dies before its completion. See Preofessor Nizami, pp. 173- 174. Its manuscript copies are found in the India office Library, Asiatic Society , Peshawar and Bankipore, It was published from Calcutta and Lucknow as well.

(٧) جمع الاحاديث الاربعين فی ابواب علوم الدين

و ترجمة الاحاديث الاربعين فی نصيحة الملوک والسلاطين

The first treatise is in Arabic and contains forty such traditions which guide rulership. The second treatise is a Persian translation of the first one.

(٨) تحقيق الاشارة فی تعميم البشارة

It is an Arabic treatise, containing those traditions which give happy tidings for the Paradise with regard to the Holy Companions.

(٩) ترجمہ مكتوب النبی ﷺ فی التعزية ولد معاذ بن جبل

It is a Persian translation of the Holy Prophet's letter of condolence on the death of Hazrat Ma'adh b. Jabal's son.

Two more[1] treatises رسالہ اقسام حدیث (in Arabic) and رسالہ شب برات (in Persian) are said to be the works of the Shaikh, but neither they have been mentioned by the Shaikh in his فہرس التوالیف, nor they are available anywhere.

All these works on the Holy Traditions owe gratitude to the training of the Shaikh's spiritual guide and teacher Maulana 'Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi.

(d) On religious tenets and various fundamentals the Shaikh wrote the [2] تکمیل الایمان and تقویۃ الایمان[3] in Persian.

(e) On Fiqh (Jurisprudence) he had the credit of writing the following three books:-

(١) فتح المنان فی تائید النعمان

In this collection he has arranged[4] in Arabic the Holy Traditions under several topics, and preferred the sources of the Imam Abu Hanifa over other pious jurisconsults.

(٢) ہدایة الناسک الی طریق المناسک

It is in Persian[5] and contains Arabic quotations. It is for the guidance of the pilgrims to Makka and Madina Munawwara.

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1. They are mentioned in the مرآة الحقائق (p. 55) only.
2. It has been publised several times. Even its Urdu Translation has been published from Kanpur (India).
3. Its manuscript copies are found in the British Museum, India office, Bodleian Library, Asiatic Society, Hyderabd (Deccan) and Bankipore.
4. Its manuscript copy is found in the Asafia Libarary, Hyderabad (Deccan) .In this book the Shaikh says how he felt inclined to the Shafi school of thought but then returned to the Hanafi thought because of his spiritual guide and teacher. See مرآة الحقائق pp. 28-29.
5. مرآة الحقائق ,p.60.

(۳) الفوائد

It deals with the religious tenets and Jurisprudence as well.[1]

(f) On Tasawwuf the Shaikh wrote several books:

(۱) تنبیه العارف بما وقع فی المعارف

It is in Arabic. It was written as a clarification of an objection, raised by Hazrat Shihabuddin Suhrawardi on Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jilani's words:- قدمی هذه علی رقبة کل ولی الله (My foot is on the neck of every saint).

(۲) تحصیل التعرف فی معرفة الفقه والتصوف

It is in Arabic and written on the comparative study of Fiqh and Tasawwuf.[2]

(۳) شرح فتوح الغیب

In 1023 A.H. (1614 A.D.) the Shaikh wrote, in Persian, this Commentary of Hazrat 'Abdul Qadir Jilani's 78 lectures on religious topics as deduced through Tasawwuf.[3]

(۴) ترجمه غنیة الطالبین

It was a Persian translation of Hazrat 'Abdul Qadir Jilani's Arabic work غنیة الطالبین, which dealt with religious topics and gave details of 73 sects.[4]

(۵) انتخاب المثنوی المولوی المعنوی

It was a selection of Rumi's famous mathnawi, now extinct.[5]

(۶) توصیل المرید الی المراد به بیان الاحزاب والاوراد

It was a Persian treatise:- دربیان علوم و قواعد متعلقه به اوراد وادعیه واحزاب و توفیق میان مذہب محدثین ومشائخ کہ در تصحیح و تضعیف بعضے اعمال دریں باب اختلاف دارند 6

(۷) مرج البحرین فی الجمع بین الطریقین

It is a Persian treatise and an attempt to wipe out differences between Shariat and Tariqat (between the Holy Law and the Sufistic ways).7

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1. Its manuscript copy is at Bankipore.
2. مرآة الحقائق p.50.
3. Its manuscript copies are preserved in Bankipore, Asiatic Society, Hyderabd (Deccan) etc. It was published from Lahore in 1283 / 1866 and from Lucknow in 1298 / 1881.
4. Professor Nizami, p. 183.
5. مرآة الحقائق p.50.
6. Ibid, p.51. It was published from Agra in 1299 / 1882.
7. It was published from Delhi in 1265 /1849 and from Calcutta in 1274 / 1857. Its Urdu Translation by Maulawi Ghauth Muhammad, was published from Lucknow in 1314 / 1896 and from Karachi in 1968. On the same topic one treatise, entitled "Rauzat" has been ascribed to the Shaikh, but it is very doubtful. This treatise has been published from Karachi in 1964.

(۸) نکات الحق والحقیقة من باب معارف الطریقه

It is a Persian treatise on the various problems of Tasawwuf.[1]

(۹) رسالہ وجودیہ

It was a Persian treatise (with Arabic extracts), apparently on وحدت وجود, but it is now extinct.[2]

(g) On ethics and moral values the following four books are recorded:-

(۱) آداب الصالحین

It is a summary of some of the chapters of Imam Ghazali's احیاء العلوم in Persian.[3]

(۲) آداب اللباس

It is a Persian treatise on the dress of the Holy Prophet (peace!) and its merits. Repugnant and forbidden dresses have also been discussed.[4]

(۳) آداب المطالعة والمناظره

It was a Persian doublet (Mathnawi) on the good manners for speech and debates. It is now extinct.

(۴) تسلیة المصاب لنیل الاجر والثواب

It was a Persian treatise pleading for endurance at the time of calamities.[5]

(h) On daily recitals the Shaikh wrote the following five treatises:-

(۱) اجوبة الاثنا عشر فی توجیه الصلوٰة علی سید البشر (عربی)
(۲) ترغیب اہل السعادات علی تکثیر الصلوٰة علی سید الکائنات (فارسی)
(۳) رسالہ عقود انامل (فارسی)
(۴) رسالہ زطالق (عربی و فارسی)
(۵) مطلب الاعلیٰ فی شرح اسماء اللہ الحسنیٰ (عربی و فارسی)

All of them believed to be extinct, except the last one which was translated into Urdu by Nawwab Qutbuddin in 1269/1853.

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1. It was published from Muradabad in 1891 A.D.later, it was translated into Urdu (See Professor Nizami , p. 186).
2. مرآة الحقائق p.55. Professor Nizami (p. 186) has mentioned one more Persian treatise (also copied on pages 312-344) on some points of objections to Hazrat Mujaddid. The Shaikh has also said in his letter No.50, that he had translated an Arabic work شیج السالک الی اشرف المسالک in 1026 / 1617, and that it deals with ways and manners for the commemoration of Allah.
3. It was translated into Urdu by Nawwab Qutbuddin of Delhi in 1263 / 1847.
4. Its manuscript copies are fuound in Bankipore, Berlin , British Museum etc.
5. مرآة الحقائق p.51.

(i) On Logic and Philosophy the Shaikh wrote the following three books in Arabic:-

(۱) بناء الرفيع في ترصيص مباحث الموضوع
(۲) درة البهيه في اختصار الرسالة الشمسيه (1)
(۳) شرح شمسيه

(j) On history the Shaikh wrote the following three books in Persian:-

(۱) جذب القلوب الی دیار المحبوب[2]

It was begun in Madina Munawwara in 998/1589 and completed in 1001/1592 at Delhi. It is a small book on the history and environments of the Holy City.[2]

(۲) ذکر ملوک

It is a history of Muslim India upto the times of the writer. It was completed in 1004/1595, but some additions followed.

(۳) رساله نورانیه سلطانیه

It was on the principles and injunctions of rulership, but is now extinct. Its name suggests that it was written either after the name of the king or after that of Nur Jahan (previously Mihrun Nisa) who was married to him in 1020/1611.

(k) On biography the Shaikh wrote the following books in Persian:-

(۱) مدارج النبوة
(۲) اخبار الاخیار
(۳) احوال ائمه اثنا عشر
(۴) انوار الجلیه فی احوال مشائخ الشاذلیه
(۵) ترجمه زبدة الآثار

The زبدة الآثار is in Arabic and مطلع الانوار البهيه في الحلية النبويه most probably in Persian, but with Arabic extracts.

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1. It is preserved in British Museum.
2. It has been published several times in India. Its Urdu translations (تاریخ مدینه and دیار حبیب) are also available.

The مدارج النبوه is a complete biography of the Holy Prophet (peace!) in five parts, covering more than 1200 pages. It is, no doubt, a meritorious work on the subject for all times, and has always been popular amongst the Muslins of the Sub-Continent.

The اخبار الاخیار gives life-accounts of the (then Indian) saints, beginning from Hazrat Khwaja Muinuddin of Ajmer (d. 636/1239) upto the Shaikh's contemporary personalities.

The Shaikh started its compilation in 993/1585 and continued it even[1] after 999/1591. It has been published several times in (the undivided) India.

The third work is on the 12 Imams, the direct descendants of the Holy Prophet (peace!) written in 1010/ 1601 and the fourth one is on the accounts of the Shadhili saints, now extinct.

The Arabic work , زبدة الآثار was a summary of the بهجة الاسرار by Shaikh Nuruddin Abul Hasan 'Ali b. Yusuf (644/1246-713/1313) on the life of Hazrat 'Abdul Qadir Jilani. The Shaikh afterwards translated it into Persian, as desired by Dara Shukoh.

The مطلع الانوار البهیه deals with the حُلیه of the Holy Prophet (peace!).[2]

(1) On Arabic Grammar (Syntax) the Shaikh wrote two books:-

(۱) حاشیة الفوائد الضیائیه
(۲) افکار الصافیه فی ترجمة کتاب الکافیه

The first work was in Arabic and second one was in Persian. Most probably, both of them are now extinct.

(m) The Shaikh wrote the following books on his own personal accounts:-

(۱) اجازة الحدیث فی القدیم والجدیده

In this treatise the Shaikh reproduces the certificates which he received from his teachers of the Holy Traditions.[3] Most probably it is extinct.

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1. See Professor Nizami's notes in his book, pp. 200-205. The present writer has availed of his notes on other pages as well.
2. Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta) has got its manuscript copy.
3. The Shaikh's Arabic treatise اسماء الاستاذین was on the names of his teachers, but it is now extinct.

(۲۳) تألیف قلب الالیف بذکر فهرس التوالیف

It is a list of the Shaikh's own works. He prepared it when he had already written 48 books. Eleven more are recorded after them.[1] It contains a brief self-account by the Shaikh, from his childhood upto the time when he returned from the Holy places. As it is important, it may be quoted here:-

بدانکه چون صانع پروردگار از اوّل فطرتِ این غریب خاکسار را به نشاءِ خاص مخصوص گردانیده بود
هم در عنفوانِ جوانی که آوانِ نشو ونما و کامرانی است، اقسامِ علوم عقلی و نقلی تحصیل کرده و تکمیل نموده و
بعد از تحصیل و استفاده به درس و افاده مشغول شد و هم در این ایام به توفیق و تائیدِ الٰہی بحفظِ قرآن مجید
مشغوف مانده و بجاذبهٔ غیبی ترکِ یار و دیار و مفارقتِ اہل وعیال گفته، در وادیِ طلب غربت
افتاده به وطنِ ارواح و مستقرِ قلوب که بیتِ ربّ العالمین و درگاه سیدالمرسلین ؐ است، روے
آورده به انعامِ عام وخاص، بطریقِ عموم و اختصاص از آن حضرت مشمول و مخصوص گشته و بسعادت
لقاے شریفِ وے صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم مکرّر مشرّف شده و استماعِ حدیث در منام از حضرت
سید علیه الصلوٰة والسلام بے واسطه نموده و بشارتها بمقصود یافته و مدتے بتجویدِ قرآنِ عظیم و
علم قراءات و خدمتِ علم حدیثِ رسولِ کریم ؐ مشغول شده و به اجازت نامهٔ عام شامل وکامل،
تمامهٔ کتبِ احادیث و سائرِ علومِ دینیه از علماے کرام آن عالی مقام علیهم رحمة الله الملک العلام خصوصاً
از حضرت شیخ اجلّ واکرم اوحد واعدل عبدالوہّاب متقی قادری شاذلی قدّس الله روحه واوصل
الینا فیوضه و بتوجه بتلقینِ ذکر و ایثارِ خلوت و خدمت و برکت مشرّف و فائز شد ولعمتها و
بشارتها از خدمتِ وے در حصولِ انوار و آثارِ نتائج و ثمراتِ برکت والتزامِ مقامِ صدق واستقامت
در نشرِ علومِ دینی و حصولِ مواہبِ یقینی مشرّف و مبشّر گشته به رجوع و عود به وطنِ مالوف
مامور و مکلّف شد۔ (2)

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1. مرآة الحقائق p.41.
2. Ibid, pp, 27-28. Therein the following passage from the Shaikh's وصیت نامه is also quoted:-

بعد از انقضاے مدتِ مذکوره شیخ عبدالوہاب متقی قطبِ مکه معظمه بسبب بشارتِ حضرت عائشه رض
با من فرمودند که به دہلی واپس باید رفت، زیرا که دہلی بر ذاتِ شما نازان است۔

(۳) زاد المتقین

This Persian treatise covers the accounts of the Shaikh's stay in Makka for more than two years. It also contains accounts of Shaikh Ali Muttaqi (d. 975/1567) and Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi.The Shaikh began to write it in Makka but completed it in 1003/1594.[1]

(۴) وصیت نامہ

This "last will" was written from time to time. The Shaikh writes, in its beginning, Hazrat 'Umar's prayer, thus:-

اللھم ارزقنی شھادۃ فی سبیلک واجعل موتی ببلد رسولک

= O Allah, grant me martyrdom in thy way and make my death in the city of thy Prophet.

Then he writes:- اگر این دعا قبول افتاد ہیچ حاجت بہ وصیت نیست و اگر ... بالائے حوض شمسی کہ جائے پاکان و مغفوران است دفن کنند

= If this prayer is granted, there remains no need for any will, and if I die here (Delhi) bury me near Hauz-i-Shamsi, which is the last abode of the pious and pardoned people.

These words (of the will) show that the Shaikh had written them before going to the Holy places and later added the alternative for his grave at Delhi.

(n) The Shaikh wrote one book on Sermons, entitled فصول الخطب, but it is extinct.

(o) His 68 Persian letters are preserved in his کتاب المکاتب والرسائل. They are on religious and spiritual topics, addressed to Faizi (d. 1004/1595), Khwaja Baqi-billah (d. 1012/1603), Nawwab Farid Murtaza Khan (d. 1025/1616), Shaikh 'Abdullah Niyazi, Shah Abul-Ma'ali, Nur-ul-Haqq (d.1073/1662) etc.

The Shaikh also wrote one Persian mathnawi (doublet) مثنوی صحیفہ المودۃ, addressing his brother and friends, and referring to various subtleties and witticisms, but it is extinct.[3]

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1. مرآۃ الحقائق, p.43, Its manuscript copies are found in the British Museum and Asafia Library, Hyderabad (Deccan).
2. The details are given in the مرآۃ الحقائق ,pp.90-91 (also referring to pages 11-12).
3. مرآۃ الحقائق , p. 57.

(p) The Shaikh wrote poetry with the pen-name "Haqqi". Professor Nizami has collected his verses from various sources.[1] Some of them may be quoted here:-

حقی بیانِ شوق بپایان نمی رسد ـ کوتاه ساز قصهٔ دور و دراز را
رفت بر بوی سرِ زلفِ تو حقی بچمن ـ ورنه کی بوی نسیم سحری بود غرض
شهیدِ عشق میندار خفته در خاک ست ـ که چشم بسته و بر یاد قاتل افتاده ست
نگر حنا ست بر کفِ پای مبارکت ـ یا خونِ عاشق ست که پامال کرده
جهان در غیرتم از تو که گر چشمت برآمیزد ـ پریشان گردم و خواهم که آن چشم تو من باشم
حقی کجا و صحبتِ کسی کز خیالِ قدست ـ دارد بخود چه مردم دیوانه عالمی

He had written a panegyric of 59 verses in praise of the Holy Prophet (peace!) at Delhi and presented it at Madina Munawwara. Some of its verses are as follows:-

بیا ای دل دمی از هستیِ خود ترکِ دعوی کن ـ مپیچان چشم بر صورت، نظر در عینِ معنی کن
مگر زی چون نظر در عینِ معنی بعد ازان ای دل ـ چو عنقا از سرِ عزت بقافِ قرب ماوی کن
ز چاکِ سینه بر دم صد نوای دردِ دل بشنو ـ بدین قانونِ محنت ترکِ بزمِ اهلِ دنیا کن ....
جهان تاریک شد از ظلمتِ ظلمِ سیه کاران ـ بیا و عالمی را روشن از نورِ تجلی کن
زیان کاران به بازارِ هوا سودای زر دادند ـ شکستِ رونق دگر بی این بازار و سودا کن .....
بیا حقی مده تصدیع خدامِ جنابش را ـ که احوالِ تو معلوم است اظهارش مکن یا کن
به قسمت باش راضی، دم مزن الا بشکرِ حق ـ سکونت ورز و تسکینِ دلِ خود از تمنا کن

In the end of his accounts in the Akhbar-al-Akhyar, the Shaikh writes:-

تسوید این قصیده اگرچه درین دیار صورت یافته بود ـ ولیکن بعد از وصولِ سعادتِ زیارتِ مدینه مطهره در حضرتِ سید کائنات علیه افضل الصلوات والتسلیمات خوانده شده بردیفِ اجابت وصول یافته، موجبِ ماموِل حقیقی گشته ـ والحمد لله علی ذلک ـ (2)

In the زاد المتقین he says in this connection:-

بعد ازان که این حقیر بوصولِ مدینه مطهره و سعادتِ حضورِ مسجدِ سید کائنات صلی الله علیه و آله وسلم مشرف شد، شبِ جمعه که پرده از عمارتِ داخلِ مرقدِ شریف برمی دارند قصیده پیشِ آنحضرت صلی الله علیه وسلم گردانید ـ چون بدین بیت رسید:
خرابم در غمِ هجرِ جمالت یا رسول الله ـ جمالِ خود نما، رحمی بحالِ زارِ شیدا کن
چند تکرار کرده شد که گریه زار زار درگرفت، غالب آنست که بسمعِ رضای موقفِ اجابت رسیده باشد از موجبِ حصولِ مقصود گشت، بعلامتِ آنکه در مدتی قریب بسعادتِ بشارتی از جانبِ آنحضرت صلی الله علیه وسلم (که شیخ عبدالوهاب متقی در وقتِ وداع اشارتی کرده بودند) فائز و مستسعد گشت (3)

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1. See his book, pp.213-216.
2. Akhbar- al-Akhyar, p.310.
3. مرآة الحقائق p.76. Professor Ma'sumi of Bahawalpur University has seen a personal Note- book of the Shaikh (بدرقة الایمان) in a private Library of Calcutta.

We have seen above that the Shaikh had been a very studious and hard-working seeker of knowledge ever since his childhood. He wrote on Quranic Commentary, Holy Hadith, theology, orthoepy, jurisprudence, logic, philosophy, spiritualism, recitals sermons, history, biography, poetry and what not? So many subjects and topics definitely required untiring efforts, unflinching labour, toilsome endurance, resourcefulness, vast study and assiduity. The Shaikh successfully worked on them and produced such literature which was new and necessary for the country. One may say that they were his hobbies, but there is no doubt that his works paved a way to rebuild the dilapidated structure of the Muslim society. Perhaps he had no such followers who could prevail upon the society and renovate it. Eventually, most of his learned works have not seen the light of the day and are extinct. But none can deny his calibre nor the authenticity of his works. He wrote for no worldly reward and thus commands respect and sanctity for all times to come.

THE GHAZNAWID HERITAGE IN PAKISTAN

The Indo-Pakistan sub-continent had first attracted the attention of Subuktigin of Ghaznin who fought several battles with Raja Jaipal and conquered up to Lamaghan.[1] Later when his son Mahmud was recognized in 389/999, as independent sovereign by the Caliph of Baghdad, he resolved to attack the sub-continent every year. Towards the end of the year 390/1000 he led his first expedition in the vicinity of Lamaghan. Then in the later years he defeated Jaipal (Waihand), Anandpal (Nagarkot) and the latter's son Trilochanpal (Salt Range). It was during this time when Mahmud appointed teachers to instruct the rudiments of Islam to the new converts and ordered mosques to be built all over the country,

The province of Multan, which had been conquered by Muhammad bin Qasim, was occupied, in the 4th century A.H. (10th century A.D.) by the Carmathians, who did not pay allegiance to the Caliph of Baghdad. Dawud was the first amongst them who entered into friendly relations with Subuktigin and then with his son Mahmud. But these relations did not last long. Dawud resented the passage of Mahmud's forces through Multan on their return journey from Bhatinda in 395/1005. Eventually, Mahmud invaded Multan in the spring of 396 (March-April, 1006). and killed hundreds of the Carmathians, but he had to rush back immediately to his country because of the eruption of Ilak Khan into Khurasan. Sukhpal was put in charge of the province of Multan, but he soon renounced his allegiance to Mahmud in 398/1007. Mahmud then again marched to Multan and finally subjugated it in 401/1010.

In the later expeditions Mahmud defeated Baji Ray and also captured Bhatinda, Narayanpur, Thanesar, Muttra, Kanauj, Sharwa, Gawalior, and then Somnath in 416/1026, which is one of the

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1. Lamaghan is near Kabul and Jaipal's territory ranged from Lamaghan right up to the Chinab river. Nizami Arudi calls it a city of Sind (First Discourse, Anecdote VI.)

greatest feats of Muslim military history. The fall of Somnath brought glory to Mahmud and a huge literature of fanciful stories surrounded his name.

Once again, in the year 418/1027, Mahmud led expedition against the Jats and punished them, but returned to Ghaznin the same year. In 421/1030 Mahmud died and his son Mas'ud I[1] occupied the throne. Soon after his enthronement Masud tried to remove, from Khurasan, the Saljuqs who had settled there, but he was defeated by them and the Ghaznawids were confined to the eastern part of the present Afghanistan. After Mas'ud's death in 432/1040, the throne was occupied by several princes in rapid succession and the affairs of the dynasty remained in disorder, till Sultan Ibrahim (d. 492/1099), the son of Mas'ud I, concluded peace with the Saljuqs and directed his efforts solely to the consolidation of his power in the sub-continent. This peace was further cemented by the marriage of his son Mas'ud III (d. 508/1115) with Mahd-i-'Iraq (مہد عراق), the daughter of Chaghar Beg Dawud and the aunt of Sultan Malik Shah. Mas'ud III's son Malik Arslan (d. 512/1118) was the son of that lady.[2]

Malik Arslan fought with his brother Bahram Shah (d. 552/1152) for the throne, but he could not succeed. Bahram Shah was a powerful sovereign who fought with the Saljuqs and the Ghurids as well. He invaded the sub-continent twice. His first invasion was against Malik Arslan's Viceroy (or deputy) Muhammad-i-Abu Halim who had renounced his allegiance to Bahram Shah because of his master. Bahram Shah defeated and captured the Viceroy in 512/1118, but later forgave him. This was probably the first time when two Muslim armies came to a clash on this soil. Bahram Shah's second invasion was in 513/1119, and the battle was fought against the same Viceroy who had once again withdrawn his allegiance. Bahram Shah reached Kikyur in the vicinity of Multan by crossing the Indus and other rivers of the Punjab.

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1. Mas'ud II (and not Mas'ud I) was the son of Maudud bin Mas'ud I and he died in childhood.

2. For these details see this author's work "A History of Bahram Shah of Ghaznin", Lahore, 1955.

After Bahram Shah, his son Khusrau Shah ruled for about 3 years (552/1152 to 555/1155), but being a weak ruler he could not face the Ghurids who had gained power in his country. After Khusrau Shah his son Khusrau Malik ruled till 582/1186, but had no successful career, hence the Ghurids could easily come into power and brought the Ghaznawid rule to an end.[1] The Ghaznawids disappeared from the scene, but they left their influence on various aspects of the life of the sub-continent.

(a) Administration

Dr. Nazim says about Sultan Mahmud, "He was the supreme legislative, judicial and executive authority in the empire and had the power of life and death over his subjects."[2] Such authority was vested (with some exceptions) in almost all the Ghaznawids, Ghurids, Khaljis, Tughlaqs and even the Moghuls, who ruled the sub-continent. The same conditions prevailed even during the British rule, when the so-called Parliamentary Government was in vogue. The Muslim rulers, however, made provision for a Qadi for every town and for a Chief Qadi for every province to administer justice according to Muslim Law.

The present Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan has also made provisions relating to the Holy Quran and Sunnah (vide its Part IX).

(b) Spiritualism

Hadrat 'Ali bin 'Uthman "Data Ganj-bakhsh" of Hujwir and Jullab (dependencies of Ghaznin) settled at Lahore and died there by 469/1076. His prose-work Kash-fal-Mahjub is perhaps the oldest work on Tasawwuf. His spiritual master was Abu-al-Fadl bin Hussain Khuttali,[3] who had attained spiritual lessons through the lineal disciples of Hadrat Junaid of Baghdad (d. 302/914), and the latter had these lessons both from the disciples of Hadrat Abu Bakr and Hadrat 'Ali, the distinguished companions of the Holy

1. The Sumrahs and Sammahs ruled Sind after the Ghaznawids.
2. Dr. Nazim, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, Cambridge, 1931, p. 126.
3. Kash-fal-Mahjub, p. 173, Lahore, 1968.

Prophet (peace be upon him). The Naqshbandi order of saints seeks its origin from Hadrat Abu Bakr and all other orders generally from Hadrat 'Ali.

Pakistan has always had the privilege of the spiritual 'puriffcation' as taught and practised by the above orders of Sufis.

(*c*) *Dress*

The Sufis usually wore "*Khirqa*", a garment of shreds and patches and also of wool. The province of Sind still prepares garments of shreds and patches,[1] called "Rilli". The garments of wool are also worn by the Muslim mystics of the sub-continent.

Sur-coats (قبا)[2] are also worn by the people of various categories even now. In 545/1150 when 'Ala-al-din, "the Brulemonde", plundered Ghaznin and fought with Bahram Shah, he wore a *sur-coat* (قبا) of *red satin* on his armour. When he was asked why he did so, he replied that it was to prevent his men seeing his blood and thus feeling discouraged in the event of his being wounded.

(*d*) *Qawwali*

In 545/1150 when 'Ala-al-din "the Brulemonde" totally burnt Ghaznin (except for some memorial buildings), he improvised the following verses, which he gave to the Qawwals (minstrels) to set to music and sing before him :—

جهان داند که من شاهِ جهانم
چراغِ دودهٔ عباسیانم
علاء الدین حسین ابنِ حسینم
که دائم باد ملکِ خاندانم
چو بر گلگونِ دولت بر نشینم
یکے باشد زمین و آسمانم

1. جامهٔ مرقع (patched garments) were worn by the slaves as well. See Mubarak Shah's Adab-al-Harb p. 7 (Supplement of the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, May 1938). See also its page 52 for garments of wool and skin.

Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 56, Calcutta, 1864.

امل مقرع زنِ گردِ سپاہم
اجل بازی گرِ لوکِ سنانم

ہمہ عالم بگردم چون سکندر
بہ ہر شہرے شہے دیگر نشانم

بر آن بودم کہ از اوباشِ غزنین
چو رودِ نیل جوے خون روانم

ولیکن گندہ پیرانند و طفلان
شفاعت می کند بخت جوانم

ببخشیدم بدیشان جانِ ایشان
کہ بادا جانِ شان پیوند جانم[1]

After having wreaked a terrible vengeance, 'Ala-al-din again improvised a poem, beginning with the following verse, and again gave it to the Qawwals (minstrels) to sing it on their harps and violins :—

آنم کہ ہست فخر زعدلم زمانہ را
آنم کہ ہست چون زرِ بذلم زیانہ را

The last two lines of the poem are as follows :

اے مطربِ بدیع چو فارغ شدم ز جنگ
بر گوی قول را و بیار آن ترانہ را

دولت چو سرکشید نشاید فرو گذاشت
قولِ مغنّی و مئے صافی مغانہ را

In these lines, also, the word "قول" stands for singing, hence قوال is a singer.

Ever since this occasion the Qawwals (minstrels), with harps, violins etc., have always been reported in the country. Even now they are found every where.

(e) *Arrow shots*

In the above battle when Bahram Shah was defeated, he fled to the ruins of a village, where a villager asked him the reasons of his

1. For all these details see "A History of Bahram Shah of Ghaznin", pp. 56-63.

defeat. Bahram Shah asked the villager to hold up his spade, which he shot with his arrow so forcefully that even its tail-end passed through it and struck the ground. Then he smiled and said to the villager :

زخم این است اما بخت رو گردان است[1] (Such is my blow, but luck is wanting). Such arrow-shots (spear-shots), though not of such force and strength, are still practised by our Riding Squads and are not uncommon.

(*f*) *Long Boats*

Bahram Shah's second invasion of our country was in 513/1119, when he crossed the Indus in long boats. Sana'i (d. 545/1150) has referred to this event in his Hadiqa thus :

بر کرانِ آبها از آسمان سپاهِ او
بسته کشتیهای طولانی ز راهِ کهکشان

در گزایش چون شهاب و در نمایش چون هلال
راست رو مانندِ تیر و گوشه گشته چون کمان

پیش موسیٰ بحرِ قلزم گشت گوئی کوے او
پیشِ سلطان چون شدے برآب کشتیها روان

شاه را چون دیدمے بر تخت در کشتی عروس
دیدمے خورشید را در جرم ماهِ نو مکان

این چنین راہے مرا خوش تر زبرگشتن نمود
در پناهِ رایتِ منصورِ سلطانِ جهان

آفتاب دین و دلت ظلِّ حق بهرام شاه
آن ظفر سپای نصرت قدرتِ دولت توان[2]

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1. A similar anecdote is related to Mas'ud I, who had tried to remove the Saljuqs from Khurasan but was defeated. He dealt one of the Saljuqs so terrible and a deadly blow that they dared not press the pursuit. "Such", said Mas'ud, "is my blow, but luck is wanting" (زخم این است اما اقبال نیست). See Rawandi's Rahat-al-Sudur, under "Tughril Beg".
2. Hadiqa, Lucknow ed., p. 656.

The Indus[1] has still got long boats which swiftly move and appear like a crescent in the waters (verse 2).

(*g*) *Crescent in the banners*

Mahmud had introduced a "Crescent" on the pennon of his banner.[2] This symbol was retained by his followers. In praise of Bahram Shah, the poet Sayyid Hasan (556/1161) says in a Dobaitee :

بگذشت ہلالِ رایت شاه از ماه
من ہاے بہ گلِ دو دست کوتاه از جاه

دور افتادم بہ قصدِ بد خواه از راه
اے شاه ز بنده دور کن گاه از گاه[3]

'The 'Crescent' was later adopted by Muhammad II in his banner when he conquered Constantinople in 1453. But this symbol continued in our country, and Pakistan, too, has got it on her banner.

(*h*) *The Symbol of "Eagle"*

The symbol of "Eagle" is traced back to the Ghaznawid period. Mas'ud III had it on his canopy and so his son Bahram Shah retained it. The writer of the Adab-al-Harb says :

چنین آورده اند کہ در تاریخ سنہ ثلث وخمسایہ سلطان کریم علاءالدولہ مسعود رضی ابراهیم طیب الله ثراها برطرفِ بُست حرکت فرموده و درے نفیس ، قیمتی بے مثل از منقارِ بازِ چترش بیفتاد[4] ـ ـ ـ

The poet Sayyid Hasan says about Bahram Shah thus :

مبارک اوجِ تختِ او فلک را بر کنار آرد
خجستہ بازِ چترِ او جهان را زیرِ پردارد[5]

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1. I am of the opinion that the word *Industry* itself originates from the *Indus*, the valley of which has always been rich for various 'Home' *industries*.
2. Hasting's Enc. of Religion and Ethics, XII, 146.
3. India Office Ms. No. 931, f. 182 b.
4. Adab-al-Harb, p. 9, Lahore, May 1938. Some coins of Bahram Shah and his ancestors had, on the reverse, an image of a bull (or cow?) and the inscription "Shri Samanta Deva" in Sanskrit script.
5. India Office Ms., No. 931, f. 95a.

Like the king 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Dakhil (d. 173/788), our national poet Dr. Muhammad Iqbal has used شاہین (Eagle) as a symbol in his poetry. Now the Pakistan Air Force uses this symbol in all ranks.

(i) Architecture

Mahmud's heptagonal pillar at Ghaznin with seven cross-lined rectangular diagrams on each side, to commemorate his victory of Somnath, was not known to Afghanistan before his regime. He had erected one pillar in the fort of Lahore as well.[1] Afterwards this practice continued in the country. The Qutb Minar at Delhi, the Hiran Minar at Sheikhupura (near Lahore) and the Pakistan Minar at Lahore are all for commemorations.

The cross-lined rectangular diagrams are noticed on several buildings in Thatta, Lahore, Delhi, Agra and many other places.

Mahmud's tomb at Ghaznin, with Arabic inscriptions in Kufi script, was again a model for other tombs of the country. The script of the inscriptions was changed into a Nasta'liq one, but the construction of the slabs, with slight changes, is not uncommon even today.[2] Mahmud had constructed palaces as well, but they do not survive even in relics. Nizami 'Arudi says :

بسا کاخا که محمودش بنا کرد
که از رفعت همی باماه مرا کرد

نه بینی زان همه یک خشت برپای
مدیح عنصری ماندست برجای[3]

Palaces are constructed even now, but their architecture is always changing, although they have cross-ventilations as those of Mahmud's place[4] of the Firuzi gardens at Ghaznin. There was an "Audience Hall" (صفه بار)[5] also, like the اطاق of Sind, used for the guests.

1. Adab-al-Harb, p. 55.
2. Timur's tomb at Kabul and Humayun's tomb at Delhi are identical with each other in structure and architecture. Some say that Timur's tomb is in Samarqand.
3. Chahar Maqala, Second Discourse, Anecdote XII.
4. Mahmud had *a four-doored* summer-house in Ghaznin (Chahar Maqala-Discourse III, Anecdote 13).
5. Adab-al-Harb, p. 52.

Mahmud had ordered the constructions of a magnificient mosque at Ghaznin, of marble and granite and of exquisite design and workmanship.[1] Such mosques are not uncommon in our country.

(j) Surgery

The writer of the Adab-al-Harb gives an account of a very old man Khwaja 'Ali, whom he saw in his childhood at Multan. The old man had a four-finger deep wound in the back of his neck, which he had received in the defeat of Khusrau Shah b. Bahram Shah by 'Ala-aldin, the Brulemonde, in the middle of the year 552/1152. The old man went to Tikinabad, where he was treated by a surgeon for twenty days. The surgeon inserted a piece of almond wood in his neck and regularly made bandages. The old man got cured and lived for further fifteen years when the wood inside the neck suddenly broke by a sneeze and he died. Now, in the present days, the art of plastic surgery has very much developed, but the surgery, of more than eight hundred years old, cannot lose its importance. There are still a number of local experts, who often prove to be better surgeons than the 'qualified' bone specialists.

(k) Words and phrases

There are a number of words and phrases used in the country ever since the Ghaznawid period. A few of them are quoted here. Firdawsi (411/1020) uses the word "Kotwal" in his Shah Nama :

چو آگاه شد کوتوالِ حصار
بر آویخت بارستم با نامدار[2]

Gardizi has also used this word in the Zayn-al-Akhbar which was written in 440/1049 :

و امیر محمود مرسارغ را بہ کوتوالی آن قلعہ بگماشت
و مر علی بن قدر احوق را کوتوالیِ آن قلعہ داد

و سوے کوتوالِ کسریٰ از زبانِ امیر محمد پیغام رسانیدند و امیر محمد را ازان بی خبر تا کوتوال کسریٰ اورا بکشت ۔

1. Dr. Nazim, p. 166.
2. For details of these words and their references see author's book "Farsi par Urdu Ka Athar", pp. 15-23 (second ed., Karachi, 1961).

Firdawsi has also used "Shara" (a turban of our country) in a verse :

ز گفتارِ او ماند شکلِ شگفت
ز سر شارهٔ ہندوی بر گرفت

Farrukhi [2](d. 429/1038) has used "cot" in its dignified form, meaning "a royal throne" :

خلافت جدا کرد جیپالیان را
ز کت ہاے زرین و شاہانہ زیور

The same poet has used "و لا" :

نخچیر والانِ این مملکت را
شاگرد باشد افزون ز بہرام

The same poet has used "Shaman" (idolater) thus :

اندیشۂ رعیت چندان کہ او کند
اندیشۂ و ثن نہ ہانا کند شمن

Farrukhi has also used "Shil" (spear), "Jauz-i-Hindi" (coconut) and "pupal" (betel nut) in these verses :

بکونۂ شل افغانیان دو پترہ و تیز
چو دستہ دستہ بہم تیرہاے بے سوفار

در او درختان چون جوز ہندی و پوپل
کہ ہر درخت بہ سالے دہد مکرر بر

Minuchihri (432/1041) has used "Langhan" (Hindu fast) :

الا تا مومنان دارند روزہ
الاتا ہندوان گیرند لنگھن

He has also 'used chandan' (sandal) and عود (aloe-wood) in his verses:

عنان بر گردانِ سرخش فگندہ
چو دو مارسیہ بر شاخِ چندن

چویش ہمہ از صندل و از عودِ قماری
سنگش ہمہ از گوہر و یاقوتِ ثمین است

Unsuri (431/1040) has used "Lac" in his verse :

دراونہ سائر ماند و نہ طائر از ہرِ خاک
دو لک ز لشکر او شد بتریر خاک نہان

Abu-al-Faraj Runi (d. after 497/1103) has used "bailak" (a two-headed arrow) :

چرخ گردنده شهاب انداز
کاندر آورد بیلک اندازی

Mas'ud-i-Sa'd-i-Salman (515/1121) has used برشکال (rainy season):

برشکال ای بہار ہندوستان
ای نجات از بلاے تالستان

He has also used مارا مار in a verse :

چو رعد زابر بغرید کوس محمودی
بر آمد از ہمہ دیوار حصن مارا مار

Sana'i (d, 545/1150) had used "bailak" and "hailaj" in his verses :

خنجرش ہست روئے ملک فروز
بیلکش رائے سوز و ایلک دوز

نسبت کد خدائی و ہیلاج
کہ منجم بور بدو محتاج

He has also used "Pani" (water) and "Maida" (fine flour) thus :

تو بے برگ ہرگز بجائے نہ یابی
ز شک لغتہائے اینی و آبی

اسامی درین عالم است ارنہ حاشا
چہ آب و چہ نان و چہ میدہ چہ پانی

The word عورت (woman or wife) has been used first by Data Ganj Bakhsh (d. 469/1076) in the Kash-fal-Mahjub :

(باب اہلیت) بجز وے کسے نماید کہ بر عورات قیم بودے

The poet Mas'ud-Sa'd-i-Salman has also used it :

دلم ز محنت خون گشت و خون ہمی گریم
ہمہ شب از غم عورات والدہ طفلان

In the Adab-al-Harb (p. 48), also, it is thus used :

بگفتند کہ از اہل شہر ہیچ کس جامہ تمام ندارد و جملہ عوارت و اطفال سرو پای برہنہ اند

In this book the words بہت (بہات) and بہتیان (vegetarians) are also used (page 42) :

اين مرد بهت است و بهتيان از گوشت ِ گاو عار دارند ـ

In the same book (p.29) we find the word جيورک (محافظ جان) as well :

و جيور کے پوشيده بود از جيورک

This word, too, is freely used in Sind even now, and also in the Punjab.

(1) Literatnre

Literature was patronised by the Ghaznawids. Mahmud's court was surrounded bv poets like Firdawsi (d. 411/1020).[1] Farrukhi (d. 431/1040), Minuchhri (d. 432/1041), Asjadi, Bahrami, Nukati of Lahore, Zinati and many more. Under Sultan Ibrahim the poets Mas'udi, Qasarami, Abu Hanifa Iskas gained the patronage. During the reigns of Mas'ud III and his son Bahram Shah we see the following poets being patronised : Abu' l-Faraj Runi (d. 497/1103), Mas'u.d-i-Sa' d-i-Salman (d. 515/1121), 'Uthman Mukhtari (d. 544/1149), Sana,i (d 545/1150), Rashidi,· Sayyid Hasan (d. 556/1161), Ruhani, Abu Raja, Fakhr-al-din Muhammad of Nishapur, Muhammad and Husan (both sons of Nasir-i-'Alawi) Muhammad b. Uthman, Sa'd-al-din Mas 'ud, Shams-al-din Mubarak Shah etc.[2]

The above poets adopted various forms of poetry and our country followed them. Shah Nama, the master-piece of Firdawsi (covering past rulers' accounts) was once abridged by Tawakkul Bag in 1061/1682. Other poets like Qudsi (d. 1646) and Abu Talib Kalim (d.1651) have also versified the accounts of their-patrons. The poet Azim of Thatta (d. 1229/1814) has versified his patron's accounts in Fath Nama in the year 1209/1794. The Urdu poet Nusrati (d. 1095/1684) has verisified his patron Ali Adil Shah's account in 'Ali Nama also called the "Shah Nama-i-Dakan". The Urdu Shah Nama-i-Islam by Hafiz Jalandari is most sigrificant contribution.

1. I am of the opinion that both Firdawsi and Shahnama happen to be the chronographic names. The word "Firdawsi's" numerical value is 360 which is the year when he started his poetry, and the word Shahnama's numerical value is 402, which is the year of its completion. See the present writer's discussion in his book "Farsi par Urdu Ka Athar", p. 16 See also Hafiz Sherani's book "Firdawsi par char Maqaley" (Delhi, 1942) for the details of the Shah Nama.

2. Their details are found in author's work "A History of Bahram Shah".

Farrukhi and Unsuri's panegyrics were followed by all the poets of our country, 'whenever they got attached th any court. 'Unsuri's doublet Wamiq-o-Adhra (edited by late Dr. Muhammad Shafi, and published from Lahore in 1967) had introduced love-stories, in the form of doublets, under the Ghaznawids. Such love-stories have been versified by poets like Zulali (dated 1026/1617-"Mahmud-o-Ayaz"), Muhammad Murad (dated 1100/1688- "رانی کیتکی و سندر"), Nami (dated 1204/1789-"Wamiq-o-'Adhar"), Ghanimat of Kunjah (dated 1110/1698)-"Nairang-i-'Ishq"), 'Azim of Thatta (dated 1229/1814—"Ranjhan-o-Hir") and by so many Urdu, Pashto, Panjabi and Sindhi poets.

Sana'i had introduced very fine Ghazals which have been followed by our poets. His Sufistic doublet "Hadiqa-al-Haqiqat", mixed within the contemporary historical accounts,[1] is very important. There were several Sufistic doublets written in our country. Abu 'Ali Qalandar (d. 1323) wrote a very fine Sufistic mathnawi. Then 'Urfi's Majma'-al-Akbar, wrirten in 996/1588, Baha-al-din's Nan-o-Halwa, probably written in 1030/1622, Mir 'Ali Sher Qani's Khatm-al-Suluk, written in 1199/1785, may be the fair specimens of Sufistic poetry.

Abu Rayhan al-Biruni's Qanun-i-Mas'udi, written in A.D. 1031 and dedicated to Mas'ud I, his كتاب التفهيم و آثارا الباقیه on various items of Astrology, Astronomy, Geometry are are incomparable works of scholarship and our country has also followed them.[2]

Data Ganj Bakhsh's Kashf-al-Mahjub, most probably the first comprehensive prose work on Tasawwuf and Dahiri's Yanabi '(in the

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1. Again the above book may be consulted for details. Sana'i has called the Indus as Saihun. So also it is called in the Zain-al-Bkbar (Qazvini ed., pp 69-70) and in the Muayyid-al-Fudala (Lucknow ed., Vol I, p. 499) The word Sehwan may be a varried form of Saihun and it is interesting to note that some families who had migrated to Sehswan (U. P., India form Sehwan (Sind) still speak various Sindhi words there and have got a Shahbaz Mohalla, after Lal Shahbaz Qalandar of Sewan. Hence Sehswan may also be a varied form of Sehwan and Saihun.

2. Dr. Muhammad Shafi's Library at Lahore contains may such manuscripts. See his Catalogue, pp. 200-223, Lahore 1272.

12th century A.H.), written in Sind, can be called the master pieces on Tasawwuf of any time.

This is a brief survey of the literary, political, cultural and social activities of the sub-continent. It is a rich area and needs comprehensive study.

KHULĀSATUL AKHBĀR OR "THE QUINTESSENCE OF HISTORIES"

FROM Professor E. G. Browne we know that the history "Khulāṣatu'l-Akhbār", or "The Quintessence of Histories" was written in 905/1409–1500[1] by Khwāndamīr,[2] the writer of "Ḥabību's-Siyar", etc., and the grandson (daughter's son) of Mīrkhwānd[3], the famous writer of "Rauḍatu'ṣ-Ṣafā". Professor Sa'īḍ Nafīsī of Persia also gives the same date, with an additional information that it was begun in 904/1408.[4] But if we just go through this manuscript history we understand that either these scholars could not get its complete copies[5] or that they did not pay greater attention to its contents. Anyway, this is a fact, to be proved here, that although the "Khulāṣatu'l-Akhbār" was begun in 904/1408, it surely continued to a *much later* date than 905/1409–1500, as said by the above scholars, *i.e.*, upto 930/1524, like the author's another but more popular history "Ḥabību's-Siyar". But before proceeding to discuss the same, I would like to say something about the book itself and its contents. The manuscript copy which is with me opens with these lines of florid and figurative style:—

(ورق ۱) برترین گوهرے که تاجداران کشور فصاحت و تخت نشینان خطبهٔ
بلاغت را پیرایهٔ افتخار باشد حمد و ثنائے یگانه ایست که مرئت عالم جلوه گاهِ
بدایع قدرت اوست و وحدت کدهٔ بیدار دلان آگاهِ خاص ترین خلوت او
تصویر صور کائنات بر صفحهٔ امکان از خانهٔ ابداعش آرایشے است والوانِ
صنایع بر لوح اکوان از کارگاهِ اصطناعش نمایشے . . . .

[1] Prof. Browne—"Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion," p. 434.

[2] Khwāndamir, Khwāndmīr or Khūndmīr was his title. His name was Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn b. Humāmu'd-Dīn b. Jalālu'd-Dīn b. Bu'rhānu'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Shirāz (see Ḥabību's-siyar, Bombay, 1857, p. 2; and the Introduction to Dastūru'l-Wuzarā, Tehran, 1317, p. 1.)

[3] Mīrkhwānd or Amīrkhwānd. His name was Muḥammad b. Bu'rhānu'd-Dīn Khawind Shāh b. Shāh Kamālu'd-Dīn Mahmūd of Balkh. (See the *Introduction to Dastūru'l-Wuzarā*, p. 1.)

[4] His *Introduction to Dastūru'l-Wuzarā*, p. 5.

[5] Its manuscript copies are in the libraries of Bankipore, Deoband, Panjab University, British Museum, etc. The Bankipore MS. is probably the oldest—dated 966/1558.

. . . . . . نعتِ برگزیده ایست که صلائے دعوتش به برّ و بحرِ جہاں رسیده و جواہر ہدایتش در رشتۂ جانِ پاکان کشیده و نسیم صبح سر به صحرا نہاده ، گیسوے عنبریں بوے اوست و گلِ سوری شعله بدل افتاده روے دلجوے او . . . . وجواہر صلواتِ زاکیه به آلِ امجاد وابسته

امّا بعد ۔ برضمیرِ ایں حقیر گزشته که احوالِ پیشینان و وقایع وسوانحِ عالمِ بنی آدم که از مبادیٔ از من رشد ہمواره عمرِ عزیز را بمطالعۂ کتبِ تواریخ واخبار مصروف می داشت و پیوسته نظر بر صحایفِ حالاتِ سلف ولطایفِ روایاتِ خلف می گماشت وچوں فی الجمله وقوفے براخبار واوضاعِ عالم دست داد و اندک اطلاعے بر کیفیتِ سلوکِ طوایفِ اُمم اتفاق افتاد احیاناً در مجلسِ عالی مقداری . . . . . (ورق ۱ ب) نظام الحق والحقیقت والدین امیر علی شیر خلد الله تعالےٰ ظلال معالیه ----------------

. . . . . . بعضے از غرایب حکایات را بر وجہے القامی کرد که به شرفِ استحسانِ اقران می یافت وانوارِ عنایتِ آں حضرت بر وجناتِ احوالِ ایں شکسته بال می یافت و روز بروز ایں صورت از وسمتِ ازدیاد می گرفت و ساعت به ساعت ایں حالت صفتِ استکمال می پذیرفت ۔ (ورق ۲ ا)

تا در حالِ نُه صد و چہار از ہجرتِ نبی مختار صلی الله علیه وسلم . . . . . .

کتاب ہائے مشتمل بر فنِ تاریخ و اخبار در کتب خانۂ معمورۂ آں بزرگوار موجود بود
تسلیم ایں بے بضاعت نمودند و بمطالعۂ آنہا ترغیب و تحریص فرمودند و من بعد،
بندہ چوں براں مصنفات فصاحت آیات گزشتم و باخبار فواید موفورہ . . . .
محظوظ و بہرہ ور گشتم ایں ہوس در سر و ایں اندیشہ در خاطر پیدا شد کہ . . .
. . . . بعباراتِ روشن و اشاراتِ مستحسن خلاصۂ آں فواید را در سلکِ بیان
جمع آرم و چوں ایں خیال را بعرضِ آں نقطۂ دایرۂ فضل و کمال رسانیدم۔ بقر
قبول و رضا مقرون شد۔ رخصتِ انشاء ایں نامۂ نامی یافتم۔ و بجدِ تمام و جہد
لاکلام از پئے ترتیب ایں نسخۂ گرامی شتافتم۔ و بنا برآں کہ ایں مختصر بر خلاصۂ اخبار
اخیار مشتمل بود مرشدِ عقل آں را خلاصۃ الاخبار فی بیان الاحوال الاخیار
نام نہاد۔ و بیانِ حکایات و شرحِ روایاتش در ضمن مقدمہ و دہ مقالہ و خاتمہ
اتفاق افتاد بدیں تفصیل کہ مذکور می گردد۔ مقدمہ ۔ در ذکر اول چیزے کہ
خلعتِ خلقت پوشیدہ و بیانِ آنکہ حق سبحانہ و تعالیٰ در ہر روزے کدام شے را
آفرید و کیفیت سلوکِ جان . . . . و حکومتِ ابلیس در میان ایشاں ۔ مقالۂ
اول ۔ در ذکرِ انبیاء و مرسلین صلوٰۃ اللہ علیہم اجمعین ۔ مقالۂ دوم ۔ در ذکر
حکماء رحمہم اللہ المومنین منہم۔ مقالۂ سوم ۔ در ذکرِ ملوکِ عجم و سلاطینِ ما تقدم
مقالۂ چہارم۔ در ذکرِ حالات و غزواتِ خواجۂ کائنات و خلاصۂ موجودات علیہ
افضل الصلوات و اکمل التحیات ۔ مقالۂ پنجم ۔ در ذکرِ خلفاء راشدین (ورق
۶۲ ب) و ائمۂ اثنی عشر رضوان اللہ علیہم اجمعین ۔ مقالۂ ششم ۔ در ذکرِ خلفائے
بنی امیہ ۔ مقالۂ ہفتم ۔ در ذکرِ خلفاء عباسیہ ۔ مقالۂ ہشتم ۔ در ذکرِ
طبقاتِ سلاطین کہ بعضے معاصرِ عباسیاں و برخے بعد از ایشاں بودہ اند۔ مقالۂ
نہم ۔ در ذکرِ فرزندانِ یافث بن نوح علیہما السلام و بیانِ خروجِ چنگیز خان و سلطنتِ
اولادِ او در اطرافِ جہان و اقطار۔ مقالۂ دہم در ذکرِ فرمائے و کشور کشائے
بادشاہِ ظفر قریں صاحب قراں امیر تیمور گورکان و بیانِ سلطنتِ اولاد آں شہریارِ
گیتی ستاں تا ایں زماں۔ و خاتمہ۔

From the above lines the following new points are noticed even at the first glance:—

(1) The writer, after the 'praise' of God, the Holy Prophet and of the latter's pious family, says that from the very beginning of his matured age (like Mīrkhwānḍ)[6] he was always busy with the study of history.

(2) The writer's patron Nīẕāmu'ḍ-Ḍīn Amīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī of Herat[7] (844/1440—the 12th of Jamāḍā II, 906/January 3, 1501) had a great liking for histories. In A.H. 904 (= A.D. 1499) this patron gave our writer *several histories* of his personal library for study, and then allowed him to write a concise but precise history, namely, "Khulāṣaṭu'l-Akhbār" or the "Quintessence of Histories".

(3) The arrangement of the different chapters of this history, as quoted in the above passage, is quite different from that of the "Rauḍaṭu'ṣ-Ṣafā".[8] It may be called, as Professor Browne says, "*in essence* an abridgement" of the latter,[9] but this is a fact that the writer had, before him, several other histories also, when he wrote it. The view of Professor Browne, about its abridgement, will be correct only if we think, like him, that (*a*) the facts of the "Khulāṣaṭu'l-Akhbār" are limited upto the year 873/1468-9, when the sixth volume of the "Rauḍaṭu'ṣ-Ṣafā" was completed, and that (*b*) the former was written in 905/1499-1500. But both these points are refuted when we just have a glance at the "Appendix", which was completed upto the year 930/1524 and based upon the author's personal knowledge of the current period. Naturally the importance of this "Appendix", as also in the "Ḥabību's-Siyar", supersedes that of the *seventh* volume of the "Rauḍaṭu'ṣ-Ṣafā,"[10] which was also written by this author and is, as Professor Browne says, "*wholly* devoted to the life and reign of his patron Abu'l-Ghazī Su'lṭān Ḥusayn, who died in 912/1506-7."[11] But even this view is not exactly correct, because we find, in the seventh volume, several other facts also, which go beyond the year 912/1506-7 and are limited *at*

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[6] For Mīrkhwānḍ's eager taste for history, see *Rauḍaṭu'ṣ-Ṣafā*, Lucknow, 1874, Vol. I, p. 3.

[7] To his credit see "Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion," pp. 505-506.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 432-33, for the arrangement of the chapters of the latter history.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 434. The Hameediya Library of Bhopal contains a good abridgement, dated Shawwāl 11, 1079-Thursday, March 4, 1669.

[10] Its Lucknow edition, published in 1874, contains the seventh book also, whose eighth line (p. 1360) missed the word "Nawāḍa" (daughter's son) from before the name "Muhammaḍ b. Khāwinḍ Shāh". Unfortunately, there is no copy of this seventh book at Bankipore, although there are several copies of its other volumes in that library. The Cama Library of Bombay contains the seventh book but its preface, which could contain the said name of the author, is missing.

[11] Professor Browne's 3rd Volume, p. 433.

least upto the year 929/1523, as the author " Khwānḍ-mīr " himself says, in connection with the *descendants* of his patron Su'lṭān Husain Bayqarā, as follows:—

در ذکرِ کیفیتِ حال و مآل میرزا بدیع الزماں و انتقالِ او از جہانِ پُر ملال در شہر
اسلام بول و خروج میرزا محمد زماں ولدِ او در جرجان ۔ از رشحات سحاب قلم
و حرکاتِ بنانے ستوده رقم سابقاً بوضوح پیوست کہ چوں خاقانِ منصور علم عزیمت
بصوب عالمِ آخرت برافراشت ہفت پسرِ نیک اختر یادگار گزاشت . . . . . .
و ابو المنصور مظفر حسین گورکاں در استرآباد فوت گشت چنانچہ گذشت و او یک دختر
داشت مسماة مہر انگیز بیگم ۔ ہم دراں ایام کہ محمد خاں ہرات را فتح کرد بحبالۂ نکاحِ عبید
اللہ سلطان درآمد و چوں یک دو سال با وے بسر برد من الجانبین بمفارقت
اتفاق افتاده روے بخراساں آورده ۔ حالا کہ تاریخ ہجری سنہ تسع و عشرین و
تسعمائہ رسیده ایں ستوره بے آنکہ در تحتِ امر و نہی شوہری شود در بعضے از بلادِ
عراق روزگار می گزرانند ....[12]

So from the above passage it is quite clear that Khwānḍmīr continued the seventh book[13] at least upto the year 929/1523 and not upto 912/1506–7 only.

The Date of the Completion of the " Khulāṣaṭu'l-Akhbār "

Now, in order to remove doubts about (*a*) the contents and (*b*) the date of the completion of the " Khulāṣāṭu'l-Akhbār", I give here some important quotations from the manuscript. On folio 404 *b*, *just before the " Appendix "* the following passage occurs:—

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[12] Seventh book, Lucknow Edition, p. 1456.

[13] Besides the seventh book of this history (in the Cama Library of Bombay) and Ḥabību's-Siyar (Vol. III, Pt. III, p. 339), this manuscript also contains, on folio 391*a* and *b*, five times the word "Abawī" (=my father)—an expression applied by this author to his maternal grandfather Mīrkhwānḍ. In the *Catalogue of Mulla Firoz Library*, Bombay, p. 81 and in Sir H. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 431, the former has been called the son and nephew of the latter respectively. The latter view requires some clarification in future.

..... بررائے انور وضمیرِ ضیاء گسترِ اربابِ فضل و ہنر پوشیدہ نہ ماند کہ این نامۂ نامی
و صحیفۂ گرامی را در اندک زمانے از کتب معتبرہ جمع آوردم و آنچہ در حیزِ قدرتِ این بے
بضاعتِ عدیم الاستطاعت بود در تصحیح و تفحص سعی و اجتہاد کرد خلاصة الاخبار
را بعبارتے کہ در بادی الرائے روے وارد در سلکِ بیان کشیدم و از ایرادِ الفاظ
غیر مانوس الاستماع دامن درچیدم امّا عالم السّر والخفیات آگاہ است کہ اگر نہ یُمنِ اعتنا
و حُسنِ اہتمامِ عالی حضرت خداوندگارے ہدایت شعارے بودے آنچہ قرب شش ماہ
نوشتہ شد در مدتِ شش سال باتمام رسیدے ......

This passage shows the following points:—

(1) From the second line it is evident that the author consulted several books when he wrote this history, and not only the "Rauḍaṭu's-Ṣafā" Hence it is not its abridgement alone, as Professor Browne thinks.

(2) The last line shows that the writer took about six months to complete his history upto the above passage (and before the "Appendix"). We have already seen in the opening lines of this manuscript that the author had begun it in 904/1499. Hence it is now clear that this history, *upto the above passage only*, was completed by the beginning of 905/1499. This further clarifies my view, as shown at the beginning of this essay, that Professor Browne and Professor Sa'īḍ Nafīsī of Persia had either seen only the *incomplete* copies of this history (*i.e.*, only upto the above passage and not the "Appendix") or that they did not pay greater attention to its contents.

Now we see that important "Appendix" of this history, which thus begins on folio 405 *a* of my copy:—

"در بیان مآل حال طایفہ آق قوینلو[14] کہ .... بعد از فرقۂ قراقوینلو کہ در آذر
بیجان و عراقین و فارس و کرمان بمرتبۂ بلندِ سلطنت رسیدہ اند۔ اگرچہ بیانِ احوالِ
ایشان را در حادثۂ و واقعۂ سلطانِ سعید سلطان ابوسعید میرزا ذکر کردن اولیٰ و انسب
بود امّا چون ایشان نیز بادشاہانِ عظیم الشان و رفیع المکان[15] بودہ اند مناسب دید کہ از
روحِ پُرفتوحِ استاداں استمداد نمودہ مجملے در آخرِ این کتاب ثبت نماید ...."

[14] In this passage I have kept, in tact, the spelling of the names of these two tribes, but in the following translation I have adopted Professor Browne's transliteration (see his 3rd Volume).

[15] On folio 382*b* of this MS. and on page 411 of the Dasṭūru'l-Wuzarā the author calls Maulānā Mu'īnu'ḍ-Ḍīn Isfarārī and Maulānā Jāmī, respectively, as his "makhdūmī" (= my master).

" = Account of the tribe Āq-Qoyūnlū (" White Sheep " Turkmān dynasty) that ruled over Adharbayjān, 'Irāq, Fārs, Kirmān, etc., after the tribe Qāra-Qoyūnlū (" Black Sheep " Turkmāns, whose rule ended in A.D. 1468). Although it would have been appropriate to give their account along with that of the auspicious king Abū Sa'īd (died in A.D. 1468), but as they, too, had been great kings I thought it advisable to write it (separately and) briefly (seeking help from the 'blessed' souls of my masters) *at the end of this book.*"

These accounts continue till on folio 421 *a* we find the date of the birth of Shāh Ṭahmāsp as the morning of Wednesday, the 26th of Dhil-ḥajj, A.H. 919 (= the 28th of January, A.D. 1514). From folio 423 *b* begins the account of this king (better styled as Abu'l Muẓaffar Shāh Ṭahmāsp Bahādu'r Khān Ṣafawī) who ruled over Persia after his father Sulaimān's death on Monday[16], the 15th of Rajab, *A.H.* 930 (= the 19th of May, *A.D.* 1524.) This account then ends with the history on folio 424 *b*, and gives us *at least* the date 930/1524, which corrects the views of Professor Browne and Professor Sa'īd about its completion.

By this time our historian Khwāndmīr completed three other books, *i.e.*, Ḍasṭūru'l-Wuzarā, Ma'āthiru'l-Mulūk and Ḥabību's-Siyar. In 931/1525 he wrote his fifth book " Āthāru'l-Muluk-wal-Anbiyā "; and in 934/1528 he came (from Herat) to India, where he was again busy in writing his sixth book " Humāyūn-Nāma ". By the end of the year 942/1535 he died at the age of sixty-two and was buried, according to his wish, near the tomb of the famous Saint Niẓāmu'd-Ḍīn Auliyā in Delhi.[17]

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[16] The corresponding day of the Christian calendar is Thursday and not Monday.

[17] For these details see the *Introduction of the Ḍasṭūru'l-Wuzarā*, pp. 3–6.

KHAKI—AN UNKNOWN MYSTIC POET OF URDU

KHĀKĪ, is a great mystic poet of Urdu. We have got no record[1] of him except what we can gather from his work. His complete 'ḍīwān' is preserved in the Ḥabībganj Library (Dist. Aligarh) and is perhaps the only copy available so far. Its 91 folios, written in a very beautiful 'naskh' script, contain more than 1,800 verses. The colophon is as follows:—

تمت تمام شد۔ دیوان رنگین بن کلام توحید انجام سیّد محمد قادری عرف مدن صاحب[2]
ابن سید جمال اللہ قادری مدظلہم العالی۔
بخط نوشت سید حسین قادری عرف شاہ میاں، بتاریخ دہم ربیع الاول ۱۱۸۲ سنہ ہجری
قلم شد۔

From this colophon the following points are to be noted:—

(*a*) The name of the poet ("Khākī" being the pen-name) was Sayyiḍ Muḥammaḍ, *alias* "Maḍan Ṣāḥib".

(*b*) His father's name was Sayyiḍ Jamālu'llāh, who was his spiritual leader as well. This we gather from his following verses:—

جمال اللہ مرشد جب دیکھا کر پیو کوں خاکی ۔ کیا ہے تجکوں او محرم بھی نامحرم سوں کیا مطلب
خاکی جمال ذات ایس پیر کوں سمجھ۔ تجکوں کیا ہے مست جوان پیو سوں ملا
اپنے خاکی کتیں جمال اللہ ۔ نت پیا سوں ایسے ملا دینا

(*c*) The term "Qāḍirī", added to the name of Khākī and to that of his father, shows that they belonged to the "Qāḍirī" order of saints, tracing origin from 'Abḍu'l Qāḍir Jīlānī (*d.* 561/1166), in whose praise there are several panegyrics by this poet; one of the finest of them begins thus:—

[1] Maulana 'Abḍu'l Ḥai has tried (in his book *Gul-i-Ra'na*, p. 11) to identify this Khākī to one, mentioned by Mīr Ḥasan in his biography. But his conclusion appears to be wrong, as we will see later.

[2] Mr. Ṭamkīn (in his *Ṭaḍhkira-i-Rekhti*, p. 36) has read it as "Bu'dde Ṣāḥib"

توں بادشاہِ دوجہاں یا غوث الاعظم دستگیر ۔ ہے لامکاں تیرا مکاں یا غوث الاعظم دستگیر

And like a faithful devotee, Khākī asserts to have that saint's spiritual favour every moment:

یو تصدق ہے غوث الاعظم کا   فیض ان کا ہر آن ہے برحق

(*d*) The scribe was some Sayyiḍ Ḥusain Qāḍirī (most probably a relative of Khākī), *alias* " **Shāh** Miyāṇ ", who completed the ' ḍīwān ' on the 10th of Rabi I, A.H. 1182 (= Monday, the 25th July, A.D. 1768).

(*e*) The words مدظلہم العالی (= may his great shadow be lasting !)—an expression to be used *only* for a living person—show that Sayyiḍ Muḥammaḍ " Khaki " was alive at least upto the time when the scribe completed his ' ḍīwān ', *i.e.*, upto the year 1182/1768.

Besides the above authentic accounts of Khākī, we find some apocryphal anecdotes about him in Berar (then in the Deccan) as well. But before writing them I would like to judge the statement of Maulānā ' Abḍu'l Ḥai who tries[3] to identify our Khākī with one, mentioned in Mīr Ḥasan's Ṭadhkira. In the latter, which was written between[4] 1188/1774 and 1192/1778, that Khākī is said to have lived at Delhi in the reign of Jahāngīṛ. The actual words, thereof, are as follows:—

خاکی ۔ تخلص مردے بود درویش از شاہجہان آباد در عہد جہانگیر ۔ احوالش معلوم نیست ۔ از یک مرد پیرے این شعرش بگوشش خوردہ، از وست۔

ٹھانی ہے اپنے من میں اب تو ہی سترجن   تجھ پیم کی گلی میں خاکی کو خاک ہونا [5]

According to the said Maulānā, there is a mistake in this passage, *i.e.*, there should be the word " ' Ālamgīr " in place of " Jahāngīṛ. " Hence this Khākī, as he says, flourished in the reign of ' Ālamgīr (Aurangzeb) and not in that of Jahāngīṛ. But if we judge the date of our poet, even this view of the Maulānā does not appear to be correct, because we have already seen in the colophon of our poet's work that he was alive at least upto the year 1182/1768, *i.e.*, *much after* the death of Aurangzeb even. This clearly shows

[3] *Gul-i-Ra'na*, pp. 11–12, footnotes.

[4] Mīr Ḥasan's *Ṭadhkira*, M. U. Aligarh Press, 1922, p. 2.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 92.

that our Khākī was quite different from that poet of the same pen-name who had lived either in the reign of Jahāngīr or in that of ' Ālamgīr. Moreover, the verse, as quoted by Mīr Ḥasan (and mentioned in the above passage), to have been composed by that poet, does not exist in the complete work our Khākī. On the other hand, our poet did belong to the Deccan (and not to Delhi), as it is quite evident from his language. Had he been of Delhi, Mīr Ḥasan could have easily given us some information about him, because both of them would have been of the same age and place. Besides the language of our poet, one more point helps us in taking him to be a resident of the Deccan and it is this: Throughout his whole work we do not find any reference about or praise of any Indian saint, except one panegyric, which speaks of the greatness of Ḥaḏraṭ Gesū Ḍarāz "Banḍa Nawāz" (d. 825[6]/1422) of Gulbarga (Deccan) and it egins thus:

نزول رحمتِ رب کریم بندہ نواز   توں فیض بخش ہے گنج رحیم بندہ نواز

The presence of this panegyric suggests our poet's both local and spiritual relations with that saint. Now, when it is proved that our poet had been a resident of the Deccan, the anecdotes related to him in Berar (Deccan) appear to be genuine, because there is none, except him, of the same pen-name, age and qualities in the whole of the Deccan. Any way, for the sake of an interesting (though apocryphal) record I would mention those stories here:—

(*a*) About 175 years ago Khākī, as a wanderer, came to Aṛgāoṇ,[7] a place in the district of Yeotmal (Berar) and close to the boundaries of the modern Deccan. There one gardener was sitting along with his wife. When they gave him some food, he prayed for their everlasting prosperity. Ever since that date the gardener's progeny, even upto this day, lead there a rich life in their profession.

(*b*) During the short stay of Khākī at Aṛgāoṇ, his miraculous fame reached all the neighbouring towns. So, one low-caste Hinḍū, namely, Malkū, attended him every day from Ajanṭi, a place about nine miles away from Aṛgāoṇ. Khākī, too, liked him very much and turned him to be a saint. That Malkū then led a life of seclusion, and, on his death, was

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[6] *Urdu-i-Qadīm*, p. 23.

[7] On the motor-road between Amraoti and Yeotmal there is a village Ner in the middle. From that place, at a distance of about six miles, the village Ajanti is situated, and Aṛgāoṇ lies about nine miles away from it.

buried at Ajanṭī, where, like at Argāoṇ, lies the artificial grave of Khākī[8] as well.

(*c*) The third is the popular anecdote assigned to other saints also as to Khākī, *viz.*:

Once Khākī was praying when suddenly he put his hand under his prayer-carpet, and, after a while, when he took it out it was all besmeared with mud. People asked its reason, then he told them that he had saved some ship from sinking. And it so happened that after some days a certain officer of the same ship came to thank Khākī for that kindness.

His Works

The Ḥabībganj MS. of Khākī's 'ḍīwān' of 91 folios (each page having usually ten verses) contains the following varieties of his poetry:—

(*a*) Ghazals.

(*b*) Qaṣīḍas (panegyrics), several in praise of the Holy Prophet and 'Abḍu'l Qāḍir Jilānī; one in praise of Ḥaḍraṭ 'Alī, the Fourth Pious Caliph, beginning with:—

صاحب شجاع و ہیلی بے شک ولی اللہ علی   نیں ہے جدا حق سوں کبھی بے شک ولی اللہ علی

There is also one panegyric in praise of Ḥaḍraṭ Gesū Ḍarāz "Banḍa Nawāz", as has already been mentioned above.

(*c*) Mu'sṭazāḍs; and

(*d*) one 'mathnawī' of 55 verses, having allegorical interpretations for some religious doctrines. Its opening lines are as follows:—

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8. Khākī's real grave is said to be at Pāk-Patan (Punjab). There is again one doubtful anecdote about Khākī in Jubbulpore, C.P., where his *alias* "Maḍan Ṣāḥib" (as we have seen in the colophon) is popular. After him "Maḍan Maḥal" of Gaṛha (Jubbulpore) is said to be known. He is said to have lived as a bachelor throughout. But his younger brother Sayyid Kallan Shāh Qāḍirī's progeny still lives at Gaṛha. This Kallan Shāh, as I have seen his Persian sanaḍ with his great-grandson Sakhāwaṭ 'Alī Qāḍirī, had been granted two villages Konda and Baḍanpūr in 1773 by the Gond Rāja Nizām Shāh (*d.* 1776). But for lack of any historical record we cannot, in any way, identify this "Maḍan" to our Khākī.

کہوں کیا زباں سوں خدا کی صفت   صفت ہو کہ موجود ہے سب جگت
خدا کوں صفت سب سزاوار ہے   وہی جز و کل کا سدا یار ہے
بنے حق کوں پایا جہاں میں نہیں،   رہے ہو کے اُمّی حشر تک وہیں
سمجھ کر اپس کے اول جیو کوں   اپس جیو میں دیکھ لے پیو کوں
فرائض تو باطن کے ہیں پانچ جان،   بیاں کھول کرتا ہوں اس کوں پچھان
محمد کے جب نور میں رب کا نور   دسے پر سنج او ہی کلمہ ظہور
مثال اس کی کہتا ہوں کر گیان توں   اسے سن آتا دل کے توں کان سوں
کہ جوں ماہ کے نور میں تج دسے   کہ خورشید کا نور اس میں بسے
جو نور محمد علی نور حق نے کہا   سمج اس کتیں بے خبر کیوں رہا
محمد کے نت نور میں ذات کوں،   کہ پاتا ہے او صلوٰۃ بطوں
وصل پا کے واصل چھپی بات کوں   سُنے ہور کہے بلکہ او ذات سوں
وصل پا خدا سوں جو باتاں سُنے.   صلوٰۃ بطوں سوں ادا ہوے اونے
سمج لے خدا کا بھی ہے قول یوں   سخن رب سوں کرنا نماز بطوں

These are all the various kinds of Khākī's poetry, and Maulānā 'Abḍu'l Ḥai appears to have been wrongly informed when he says that Khākī had composed the lengthy 'mathnawī' "Faiz 'Ām" also.[9] I uselessly searched for it in the library of its supposed owner the late Maulavi 'Abḍu'r Razzāque, the Chief Translator of the Nagpur High Court. But from his son Mr. Ḥamīḍu'r Razzāque I could know that its copy is in the possession of his (latter's) uncle Mr. 'Abḍus-Saṭṭar of Ellichpur (Berar). There I studied it and found that it was a 'mathnawī', composed by absolutely a different poet 'Abḍu'l Muḥammaḍ and that it gives a detailed account of the 'Mahḍawī' propaganda and work done by some Mu'ṣṭafā[10] (*bin* 'Abḍu'r-Rashīḍ)' whose grandfather Shaikh Waish (?) was a 'companion' of Sayyiḍ Muḥammaḍ 'Mahḍi' of Jaunpur (*d.* 910/1505). This 'mathnawī' contains about 4,000 verses and begins with the praise of God thus:

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[9] *Gu'l-i-Ra'na*, p. 11, footnote.

[10] Mr. Ḥamīḍu'r Razzāque has got a MS., containing 90 letters by this Mu'ṣṭafā. In his 72nd letter these Urdu words are reported to have been uttered by the "Mahḍi" of Jaunpur:—

ہموں تموں میاں نے خدا بہتر کے محب ہے جیو۔

خداکی کروں صفت اوّل بیاں　　بنایا جنے سب زمیں آسماں
بھی اِنساں کوں خاک سیتی کیا　　انا سنرۂ شرف اُس کوں دیا
بجنے جاں کوں آگ سوکر بدن　　پری جن کا تستیں پنجا رتن
کیا جن نے پیدا حیوانات کوں　　نباتات کوں ہور جمادات کوں
جو کچھ دیکھتا ہیں ارض و سما　　کرنہار سب کا ہے بے شک خدا

After the 19 lines of 'ḥamḍ' begin the praises of the Holy Prophet, and the four Pious Caliphs, and then a short account of Sayyiḍ Muḥammaḍ 'Mahḍī' and his five great companions Sayyiḍ Maḥmūḍ, Sayyiḍ Khunḍ[11] Mīr, Shāh Ni'maṭ, Shāh Niẓām and Shāh Ḍilāwar. Then begins the detailed account of Mu'ṣṭafā, as taken by the author from a Persian work of some Shaikh Āḍam. The opening lines are:—

اتا سُن بیاں اس قصے کا اے یار　　اگر تو اچھے دِل منے ہوشیار
میاں مصطفٰےؑ کا قصہ فارسی　　بنایا تھا دِل کھول جیوں آرسی
میاں شیخ آدم نیں کر کر بیاں　　سو بولے تھے اس کوں مبارک زباں
ولے اَن پڑھیا اس کوں کیا بوجھتا　　کہ جیسے اندھے کوں نہیں سوجھتا
سہل کر کو دکھنی میں جوڑی کتاب　　سمجھنے میں ہر اک کے آوے شتاب
کیا ہے یو دکھنی زباں سوں کلام　　دکھانا تو اس کا یقیں فیض عام

As it is beyond the scope of this essay to deal with this 'mathnawī' in detail, I would like to finish it by quoting here its ending lines which give the date of its composition:—

[11] The same gentleman has got a "mathnawī", by a poet Sharaf, on the "martyrdom" of this Khunḍ Mīr.

نوین چاند شعبان کی رات کوں   خدا نے یو آخر کیا بات کوں
اتھا سن ہجری جداں یک ہزار   بھی یک سو پو چالیس یک در شمار
سو عبد المحمد نبیؐ کا غلام   خدا کے فضل سوں کیا یو تمام
اتا چاہتا ہے یو عاجز غریب   کہ ہو عاقبت بیچ نیکی نصیب
کہ یعنی خدا آپ کر کر فضل   سو ایمان بخشے عطا بے خلل
شریعت نبیؐ کی اوپر مستقیم،   رکھے آپ صاحب غفور الرحیم
پڑھے جو میاں مصطفٰےؐ کا ذکر،   بھی جو کر عقیدہ سنے کان دھر
تو اپنی زباں سوں خدا کے بدل: دعا سوں کرے یاد صاحب عقل
وگر جو خطا چوک دیکھیں کبھی   تو کر عیب پوشی سنواریں سبھی
نبیؐ پر درود اں پڑھو بے شمار   بھی مہدی پہ بھیجو سلاماں ہزار

These lines clearly show that the accounts of Mu'ṣṭafā were completed by the poet ' Abḍu'l-Muḥammaḍ in the night preceding the 9th of Sha'bān, A.H. 1141 (=Wednesday night, the 27th of February, A.D. 1729). In the presence of this clear proof about its author we cannot even think for a moment that this mat͟hnawī, as Maulānā ' Abḍu'l Ḥai writes, had ever been written by K͟hākī, who was alive at least upto 1182/1768, *i.e.*, more than forty years after the completion of " Faiz 'Ām" by ' Abḍul'-Muḥammaḍ. Furthermore, had K͟hākī been a " Mahḍavī," he would have written, like ' Abḍu'l-Muḥammaḍ, the praise of " Maḥḍī " also in his ḍīwān.

Was K͟hākī a " Rek͟hṭī "-writer ?

There is much difference of opinions regarding the origin of Rek͟htī. Some scholars like Dr. Zoar[12] and Mr. Ṭamkīn[13] take Hāshimī of Bījāpūr (*d.* 1697) to be the first Rek͟hṭī–writer, but Maulānā ' Abḍu's-Salām Naḍvī,[14] Professor Mas'ūḍ Ḥasan Rizvī[15] and Mr. Mubīn Naqvī[16] deny that fact, because, according to them, " Rek͟hṭī " is that sort of poetry which is based upon the sentiments and ideas of women and is written in their peculiar colloquial language. Hence, they (the latter scholars) regard Rangīn

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12 *Urdu Shah-pārey*, Vol. I, pp. 259–60.

13 *Ṭad͟hkira-i-Rek͟hti*, Preface, p. 2.

14 *Shi'ru'l-Hinḍ*, Vol. II, p. 83.

15 *Majālis-i-Rangīn*, Preface, p. 8.

16 *Ṭārīkh-i-Rek͟hti*, Preface, p. 3.

(*d.* 1835) to be its originator. Any way, we have to judge whether our Khākī was also a writer of "Rekhtī". Mr. Ṭamkīn has quoted one ode of such poetry by him, and it is thus:—

پیا بن لے سہیلی انجھوں سے نکہ دھوتی ہوں   کبھی میں ممتنع گہرا اندھارا دیکھ روتی ہوں
کرو پیو پیر سیں ظاہر یو سب بل بات ہو سکیاں   جنم سب بجر ہیں غم کے تیرے بن نت یو کھوتی ہوں
یو جاری عین ممکن ہو ملے جب دیکھ بالا سوں   بھٹی سوں برہ کی تب میں نکل پیو سا سوتی ہوں
مہوں میں کب تلک جھرتی جلا کر دل کتیں گرتی   کہ اب غم کے پہاڑوں پر بھلا ہے سر پڑوتی ہوں
دہوں کیوں ابتدا میں پن دسے جب انتہا مجھ کوں   فنا فی الشیخ ہو کر میں بقا باللہ ہوتی ہوں
سجن کا ورد کرنے کو محبت کے یو رشتہ میں   سدا میں من کے منکیوں کوں اُپس پلکوں پرتی ہوں
درخت عاشقی کوں میں فقر کے پھول پھل ہونے   نت اٹھ کر دل میں میں اپنے او تخم عشق بوتی ہوں
کروں ممکن کہ ساقی میں کبھی سیر لدنی کا   چلوں جب باٹ لے پیو کے یوں اجب کوں ہوتی ہوں
[17] مددسوں شاہزادہ کی ترقی پا کے لے خاکی   کبھی وحدت کے دریا میں مرا مے پن ڈبوتی ہوں

In my opinion, these lines fall short of the definition of Rekhṭī, as given above, and were written merely after the Bhāshā poetry, which had influenced. a great deal, the Urdu prose and poetry of the Deccan in that age. The presence of a few words of women cannot totally change the name and nature of this poetry whose whole structure is Bhāshā alone.

Khākī's Mystical Ideas

Like Rūmī (*d.* 1273) Khākī also speaks wholly of the Eternal Love and there are hardly a few lines in his ḏīwān which lack the spiritual tones. The popular mystical aphorism "The Phenomenal is the bridge to the Real" has been propounded by several mystic poets, as by Jāmī (*d.* 1492) also in his mathnawī "Yūsuf-o-Zulaikhā" :—

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[17] *Ṭadhkira-i-Rekhṭī*, p. 36.

[18] دلے فارغ ز درد عشق دل نیست   تنے بے درد دل جز آب و گل نیست
متاب از عشق رو، گرچہ مجازی ست   کہ ایں بہر حقیقت کارسازی ست
بلوح اوّل الف با تا نخوانی ،   ز قرآں درس خواندن کے توانی

But Rūmī totally discards the worldly love and directly reaches the Real one by sayinȝ :—

عشقہائے کز پئے رنگے بود   عشق نبود عاقبت ننگے بود
عشق نبود آں کہ در مردم بود   ایں فساد از خوردن گندم بود
عشق بامردہ نباشد پائدار   عشق را بر حیّ و بر قیوم دار

Similarly, Khākī, though has a touch of the "Phenomenal", yet discards even the worldly marriage, as he says in his mathnawī :—

جو کرتے ہیں عالم سو شادی ہمیں   کہ احمق ہیں کرتے ہیں شادی یہیں
جسے اس حقیقت کا لذت لگے   مجازی طرف دل کبھی نہ جھکے
مجازی، حقیقت سوں کر نیں جدا   نظر سو حقیقت پہ رکھ توں سدا
خودی چھوڑ کر پا خودی کوں سدا   خودی بن نہ ہووے گا حاصل خدا

But Khākī's "Phenomenal" is not the worldly love of Jāmī but exactly Rūmī's "Fanā—Baqā[19]", as we find in the following verses:—

ہمیں فنا کوئی شے، ہے عین بقا   نفی کہتے سو ہے وہی اثبات
یوں سمجھ عارفاں نے جز کل میں ،   ہو رہیں ہے سدا وہی یک دھات

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[18] Like Jāmī, Dr. Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl has also a message for the 'body' and 'heart' in a very fine quatrain (*Payām-i-Mashriq*, p. 18):—

تنے پیدا کن از مشتِ غبارے   تنے محکم تر از سنگیں حصارے
درونِ او دلے درد آشنائے   چو جوئے در کنارِ کوہسارے

[19] Rūmī has clearly said :—

گر بہ آں وصلت بقا اندر بقاست   لیک در اوّل بقا اندر فناست
آینہ ہستی چہ باشد نیستی   نیستی بگزیں گر ابلہ نیستی

Hence the religious tenets and dogmas have been described by him with allegory, whose goal, according to him, is gnonis alone. Some such verses of his mathnawī are as follow:—

سمج لے خدا کا بھی ہے قول یوں   سخن رب سوں کرنا نمازِ بطوں
طلب جس کوں ہے حق کے دیدار کا   وہ ہے روزۂ باطنی یار کا
ہے افطار، دیدار دیکھا ہے جن   نہیں کس کوں افطار دیدار بن
گواہی ہے اس پر حدیثِ نبیؐ،   اسی کا کہا ہوں بیاں میں سبھی
جو جو تھا فرض ہے زکوٰۃ بطوں   بیاں اس کا کرتا ہوں سن خوب تُوں
محمدؐ کے جن نور ہور ذات کوں   اگر پا کے ظاہر کرے خلق سوں
سمج لے یو باطن کا ہے گا زکوٰۃ،   کیا ذکر تحقیق کریں یو بات
فرض پانچواں یار او بوج حج،   بیاں کھول کرتا ہوں اس کوں سمج،
الیس ل کوں پا، دل کا کرنا طواف   وہی حجِ اکبر نیں ہے خلاف
کہ او دل جسے نیں ہے یو، دل نہیں،   نہ سمجھے توں یو مضغۂ گوشت کسیں
کہیں ہیں نبیؐ قلب مومن دوام،   کہ بے شک ہے او کعبۃ اللہ مدام
شریعت کے لوگاں کوں دعوت کروں   کندوری کوں حدث کے آگو دھروں
اناہیں طریقت کی شادی گناؤں   حقیقت کے دولا دولن کوں ملاؤں

- -

او شاہد امیں گنجِ مخفی میں جب   بچھونے کوں کرلائے دولی کوں تب
کہ دولا بھی عاروس یک جا ملے   لگے وصل میں محو ہو جا کیلے
مشاطہ کوں دولے نے اس وقت کہو   ملا جا کہ عاروس سوں ایک ہو
جو کرتے ہیں عالم سو شادی نہیں   کہ احمق ہیں کرتے ہیں شادی نہیں

Khākī again seems to follow Rūmī in assigning the highest place to his spiritual leader. Rūmī calls Shams of Tabriz as follows:—

شمس درخارج اگرچہ ہست فرد   مثلِ او ہم می تواں تصویر کرد
لیک آں شمسے کہ شد مستش اثیر   نبودش در ذہن و در خارج نظیر
در تصور ذات او را گنج کو   تا در آید در تصور مثلِ او
شمس تبریزی کہ نورِ مطلق ست   آفتاب ست وز انوارِ حق ست

And also at one place:—

دستِ پیر از غائباں کوتاہ نیست   دستِ او جز قبضۂ اللہ نیست

Similarly, Khākī addresses his spiritual head thus:—

مرشد جمالِ اللہ ہے خاکی وہی اللہ ہے   کلُ شیی لوجہ اللہ جا دیکھ در قرآن مجید
عین اللہ جمالِ اے خاکی   ۔جس سوں پایا نشان ہے ہو حق
عین اللہ ہے جمالِ اللہ   ۔خاکی اس کے قدم پہ جا بَل بَل
جمالِ اللہ کوں کل میں دیکھ رہنا   کفایت ہے کفایت ہے کفایت

But just as Rūmī wants the spiritual leader to be the follower of "Sharī'aṭ":—

رہبرِ راہِ طریقت آں بود   کو بہ احکامِ شریعت می رود
گر نباشد در عمل ثابت قدم   چوں رہاند خلق را از دست غم

so also Khāki has the following stages for reaching the Real:—

پیو کا توں مقام پاوے تب   جب کرے توں عروج نہ درجات
اولاً پاک ہو شریعت سوں،   نفس کے دور کر توں سب خطرات
تب طریقت میں رکھ قدم اپنا   لے حقیقت کا دیکھ کر لذات
خاکی دریا کوں معرفت کے پیر   بج عرفان میں تو لے تنک ذات

AN OLD BILINGUAL (PERSIAN—URDU) POEM

The Manuscript

In connection with the Rauḍatu'sh-shuhaḍā, Rauḍatu'l-'Uqbā and Rauḍatu'l-Anwār by Walī of Vellore, we had mentioned two more Urdu doublets, the Panḍ-namā (1000/1592) and the Asāsu'l-Muṣallā (1004/1596), which rank with the earliest ones known so far.[1] We discuss here an old poem[2] of the same nature, though technically to be called a qaṣīḍa. Every verse of it ends with 'r' and is in the eight-footed 'rajaz' metre. This poem, namely the "Ṭu'ḥfa-i-Naṣāyiḥ" (= a Gift of advice), is bilingual in the sense that it had been originally in Persian, but has an interlinear translation—though by a different poet—in Urdu verse as well. It opens with these lines :—

(۱) حمدے بگویم بے عدد، مر خالق جن و بشر — کردہ معلق آسماں، ہم اختراں، شمس و قمر
بولوں صفت میں بے گنت، اس خالق جن و بشر — نردھار کر اسماں رکیا، سورج، ستارے ہور چندر
(۲) عظمت بدادہ عرش را، پرّد ز پایش طائرے — چون برق، سالے چار صداں گر رسد پائے دگر
یوں دی بزرگی عرش کوں، پنچھی اڑے یک پاتے — جوں برق، برساں چار سو اپڑے بزاں پائے دگر

And the colophon runs as follows :—

کامل شد کتاب مستطاب . . . من تصنیف حضرت مولوی، زبدۂ دودمان مصطفوی، نقاوۂ خاندان
مرتضوی، قطب الدین والاسلام، نیر برج شریعت (شارع علیہ السلام) ماحیِ ظلمت، ناہی بدعت،
مسمّی حضرت شاہ راجو قتال - بن ید احقر العباد جوامیاں مہدوی

This shows that the poem was composed by the saint Sayyiḍ Shāh Rājū Qaṭṭāl and written by the scribe Jīwā Miyāṇ 'Mahḍawī'. But he was the author of the Persian work only, as the Urdu version was done by some Qu'ṭbī or Rāzī, as the following verses of the translation denote:—

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[1] See the *Ma'ārif*, January 1940.

[2] I am obliged to Mr. Hamīḍu'r-Razzāque, Chief Translator, Nagpur, for kindly lending me the MS. It has got this poem in 64 ff. and each page generally contains about 13 verses, but the total number is 1,572, as we shall see later. Copies of this poem are found in the India Office, Hyderabad, etc.

سے نازشس جہاں میں میں کیا، کیتا برائی کی جو بھی قطبی دھریا امید یو لایا ہوں سب صاحب نظر

[3] سے بندیاں میں سب کم ترہندہ رازی تخلص قطب کا تحفہ کیا دکنی زباں، شہ کی رضا لے سیس دھر

The author of the Persian work ("Rāju Qaṭṭāl", being the title) mentions his name and the purpose of the poem in the following verses, which we copy here along with their Urdu version:—

(۱) محمد یعنی یوسف گدا در وعظ نخے پند زا از بہر خلق خوش لقا بو الفتح آں نور البصر

بولے بھی یوں یوسف گدا پند میں کیتا باتاں نخل خوش خلق سیرت شاہ میں بوالفتح ہے نور البصر

(۲) آں رکن دیں از علم خود معمور دارد در کنہا یارب بگرداں ہمچناں بپذیر از من ایں قدر

دو رکن دیں اپ علم تے معمور راکھے سب طرف یارب کریں مقبول یوں منت کریں اتی قدر

(۳) از تو بخواہم بہر او علم و عمل تقوی و ورع سالک بگرداں آں چناں چوں او نہ باشد کس دگر

تج تے منگوں اس کے بدل علم و عمل تقوی و ورع سالک کریں اس جوت کے اونا اچھے ویسا دگر

(۴) از صدق دل خوانم ز تو یارب بگرداں پیش من سبقے بگوید بشنوم بینم جہانے پیش در

اخلاص سوں تجھ پاس میں لوڑوں کہ یارب مجھ انگے بولے سبق عالم کوں او دیکھو جہاں اس دار پر

(۵) پندے بگویم بعد ازیں بشنو ز ہر بابے زمن درے ست آخر بے بہا در گوش کن جان پدر

ایسے کہوں پنداں پچھیں ہر باب سن مجھ تے عجب موتی تے آخر بے بہا دھر کان اے جان پدر

(۶) تحفہ نصائح نام ایں کردم ز حق دارم رجا در نظر پاکاں ایں شود مقبول شیریں چوں شکر

پنداں کا تحفہ ناؤں کر امید حق تے یوں دھروں، پاکاں کری نظراں منے منظور ہووے جوں شکر

(۷) یارب ز فضل و لطف خود گرداں چناں ایں تحفہ را جملہ جہاں عاشق شوند دانند ہر شام و سحر

یارب ایس کے پیار تے کرنا توں اس تحفے کو یوں عالم جتا عاشق ہووے پڑتا اچھے شام و سحر

In these verses the following points are to be noted:—(*a*) The first verse shows that the author of the Persian work was Yūsu'f and not Yūsu'f Gaḍā, as Dr. Ethe thinks,[4] because "gaḍā" (meaning a beggar) is, in my opinion, a conventional name used by the poet for himself and is not a part of his name. (*b*) The work, as the first and the fifth verses denote, was written for the author's own son Abu'l-Faṭ-ḥ,[5] better known as "Gesū-Ḍarāz" of

[3] Mr. Shamsullah Qādiri's *Urdu-i-Qadīm*, p. 68, but our MS. does not contain these two verses.

[4] *India Office Catalogue*, p. 136.

[5] The writers of *Rauḍatu'l-Auliyā* (Tr. 'Abḍu'l-Majiḍ, p. 73), *Khazīnatu'l-Aṣfiyā* (Vol. I, p. 366), etc., say that this poem was written for Gesū Ḍarāz, but his 'Kunya', "Abu'l-Faṭ-ḥ" could not be found in any book.

Gu'lbarga (Deccan), who died in 825/1422 and who is more famous than his name-sake Ḥadrat Ru'knu'ḍ-Ḍīn Abu'l-Faṭ-ḥ[6] (d. 735/1335), whose equality the author wishes from God for his son in the second verse. (*c*) In the sixth and seventh verses the work is named as "Ṭu'ḥfa-i-Naṣāyiḥ" (=a Gift of advice).

The Authors

The author of the Persian work is a prominent figure amongst the Indian saints, but, unfortunately, there is much difference of opinions regarding his dates. According to Maulānā Āzāḍ Bilgirāmī, this saint started from Delhi on the 20th Ramaḍān, A.H. 725 (=Friday, the 30th August, A.D. 1325), along with his family, and, after four months, reached Ḍaulaṭābaḍ (Deccan), where he died on the 5th Shawwāl,[7] A.H. 731 (=Friday, the 12th July, A.D. 1331) and was buried close to it at Khu'lḍābāḍ. The writer of Khazīnaṭu'l-Aṣfiyā (Vol. I, p. 367) gives the date of his death as 774/1372, but even the latter is wrong, because the saint completed this poem of 45 cantos and 786 verses on Monday, the 10th of Rabi II, A. H. 795 (= the 23rd February, A.D. 1393), as its last lines show:—

(۱) ابیات گفتم جملگی ہفصد بر آں ہشتاد و شش — ابواب چہل و پنج ہم اندر حساب دم حصر
بیاں کیا سب ات سو بھی چار تیس بوچھے اپر — چالیس پر بھی پانچ ہیں بابا توں گن لے گیان دھر
(۲) ہفصد نود و پنجے دگر ہجرت محمد مصطفیٰ — عاشر ربیع آخری، وقت ضحیٰ، روز قمر
تھے سات سو پر بھی نود و پنجے دگر ہجرت نبی — دسواں ربیع آخری، وقت ضحیٰ، دن تھا چند

So, about the date of his death this much is certain that he died after 795/1393. Now, as for the details of his gnosis it is agreed upon by his biographers that having had the full command in religious knowledge he studied spirituality under Ḥadrat Naṣīru'ḍ-Ḍīn "Chirāgh-i-Ḍihlawi",[8] (d. 757/1356) and thus being the follower of the "Chishṭiya" order he also became his "Khalīfa" (= spiritual descendant). It was because of this relation that he has praised his spiritual leader thus :—

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[6] His accounts are found in *Firishta*, Vol. II, pp. 411–12. In *Khazīnaṭu'l-Aṣfiyā* (Vol. II, p. 51) the date of his death is 735, but in *Firishta* (Vol. II, p. 411) the date of his father's death is recorded as late as 776/1374.

[7] *Rauḍaṭu'l-Auliyā* (Tr. p. 73) and *Masāliku's-Sālikīn* (Vol. II, p. 441, Agra edn.). The latter adds that he started from Delhi in 724 and that he had been a courtier of Ghiyathu'ḍ-Ḍin M. Ṭughlaq (d. 725/1325).

[8] This is the date of his death in *Firishta* (Vol. II, p. 399), but from p. 416 (*ibid.*) we know hat in A.H. 772 Sayyiḍ Jalāluddīn came to see him at Delhi. His full name Naṣīruḍḍīn Maḥmūḍ is found on the same (latter) page as in the verse quoted.

مدح شیخ المشائخ العالمین وقطب السالکین نصیر الحق والدین قدس سرہ العزیز

(۱) شیخ معظم پیر ما محمود آن صاحب قران   چوں او نباشد ہیچ کس ہم محتشم ہم مشتہر
شیخ معظم پیر مجھ محمود و صاحب زماں   جوں دوا ہے نہیں اور کوئی یوں محتشم ہور مشتہر

(۲) عالم بعالم ہمچو او ہرگز نہ دیدہ مردمے   اندر کرامت مثل او خیزد کجا دور قمر
عالم عمل سوں جوں کہ دو ہرگز نہ دیکھا آدمی   ہور بھی کرامت میں جوں دو ہوے کہاں دور قمر

(۳) او بود شیخ مقتدا اورا ہمہ مقتدی   گشتند اعمی سالکاں چوں رفت آن صاحب نظر
وو شیخ تھے یک مقتدا سارے جہاں ہیں مقتدی   اندھے ہوئے سب سالکاں جو او گیا صاحب نظر

His tomb at Khuldābād is still visited by huge crowds every day and the title[9] "Qaṭṭāl" (a great killer) is believed to have been given to him because of his 'fiery' spirituality, which commands the phenomena so much so that no bird can pass over his grave and if any one does, like one turtle-dove which is buried close to him, it would instantly die. Such is the people's belief and is exaggerated even more.

About Qu'ṯbī or Rāzī, the author of the Urdu version, nothing is known, except that he was a contemporary of the Su'lṯān 'Abḏu'llāh Qu'ṯb-Shah[10] (1035/1625–1083/1672) and that he completed his work in 1045/1635, as the following verse shows:—

ہجرت سے دس نو سال ہور چالیس بھی پانچ آتھے   تب یہ مرتب سب ہوا تحفہ سو دکنی نامور

The Scribe

Now something is to be said about the scribe "Jīwā Miyāṇ", who gives his father's name as Faqīrullāh in the colophon of the attached work of our MS., containing the famous 90 Letters[11] by Mu'ṣṭafā (d. 984/1576), a very prominent worker of the 'Mahḏawī' mission. Amongst the followers of the 'Mahḏawī' sect (the scribe being one of them) the "Ṭu'ḥfa-i-Naṣāyiḥ", the poem under discussion, seems to have been very popular, as it is referred to in Āḏhīn's "Risāla-i-Rāg", written in 1181/1767:—

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[9] There is one more saint of this title (see *Firishta*, Vol. II, p. 417).

[10] *Urdu-i-Qaḏīm*, p. 67.

[11] In the colophon of those letters the scribe calls himself "Sag-i-āsṯāna-i-ḏargāh-i-muṣannif" (= a dog at the threshold of the court of Mu'ṣtafā), and this term suggests that his father is the same man who copied *Baḥru'n-Nukāt* by 'Abḏu'llāh in 1236/1821 and is the seventh direct descendant of Mustafa (see the *Oriental College Magazine*, Part I, Nov. 1940, p. 75). This eventually means that our scribe copied the MS. after 1236/1821.

بھی تحفۃ النصائح دیکھو سو کیا ہے۔ دیکھو دیوانِ حافظ جو کیا دکھاوتا

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[12] تحفہ میں ہو بہو یو لکھیا ہے سو کھول دیکھ دیکھو دیوانِ حافظ میں کھول بتاوتا

And this popularity seems to have been misused by the scribe, as he adds two verses himself to the following lines of the 3rd canto :—

ورق ۲ (۱) از بہر مردہ زندگاں بدہند صدقہ یا دعا   گردد عذابے دور شاں یابند راحت بیشتر
جیتے مویاں کے کارتے خیرات یا مانگے دعا   ان کے عذاباں دور ہوں پاویں گے راحت بیشتر
(۲) مشکل چو کارے مر ترا آید بگے میخواں دعا   مغز عبادت داں دعا، وارد دعا جاناں اثر
مشکل کٹھن کچھ کام تجھ ہوئیگا گر تو منگ دعا   مغز عبادت ہے دعا، دھرتے دعا نا صا اثر
(۳) دانی قیامت را نشان دجال، دیگر دابہ ہم   عیسیٰ فرود آید، کشد دجال را از ثبت خر
جانو قیامت کے نشاں دجال ہور بھی دابہ   دجال کوں ماریں گے ہاں عیسیٰ ادیرتے آئے کر
(۴) یاجوج با ماجوج ہم پیدا شوند اندر جہاں   سرہائے بعضے آسماں باشند بعضے یک بشر
یاجوج ہور ماجوج بھی دنیا میں پیدا ہوئیں گے   بعضاں کے سر آسمان لگ بعضے قد ایک دو بشر

After the second verse the scribe puts a caret and in the margin writes the following two verses in Persian:—

مہدی بیاید بے شک دعوائے وارد مصطفیٰ   تصدیق او فرضے بداں انکار او باشد کفر
مہدی بود فرزند ما گفتہ پیمبر ہم چنیں   او بس زماں آید یقیں سالے چو نہ صد پنج دگر

In my opinion these two verses were certainly added by the scribe himself, because (*a*) they do not contain their (interlinear) Urdu translation, which means they were not in existence at the time of the translation and (*b*) the year 905/1499, which is given in the second verse for the appearance of the "Mahḍī", is not found in any authentic tradition of the Holy Prophet.

Now we turn to the 45 cantos of the poem, which contain 786 verses and they are as follows:—

(1) The praise of God, the Holy Prophet and the author's spiritual leader Khwāja Naṣīru'ḍ-Dīn "Chirāgh-i-Ḍihlawī", and also some bits of advice; (2) religion; (3) religious beliefs; (4) knowledge and its virtues; (5) ablutions; (6) prayers; (7) Zakāṭ (religious income-tax) and charities; (8) fast; (9) pilgrimage, journey and religious wars; (10) recitation of the

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[12] *Oriental College Magazine*, Part I, Feb. 1941, pp. 29–30.

Holy Qu'r-ān, other prayers and requiem; (11) livelihood and contentment; (12) marriage; (13) the propriety of bringing a wife; (14) eating; (15) drinking; (16) wearing clothes; (17) sleeping; (18) selling and purchasing ; (19) moving in the society of kings and rich people; (20) culture, manners and consultation; (21) following the good traditions of the ancestors; (22) compliments, talks, advice, etc.; (23) jealousy, malice and pride; (24) sincerity; (25) fear of and hope in God; (26) thanksgiving and patience; (27) repentance and piety; (28) miserliness and generosity; (29) good behaviour with and doing good to people; (30) endurance and anger; (31) enforcing the ordained and condemning the disdained; (32) permission for song, music and ecstasy; (33) different games; (34) sacrifice of animals; (35) months, seasons and days which are auspicious and otherwise; (36) old age and youth; (37) merits of attempts and demerits of lethargy; (38) troubles and condolence ; (39) martyrs and martyrdom; (40) poverty and distress; (41) richness; (42) attainment of Paradise; (43) Hell; (44) miscellaneous topics ; and (45) a hymn and epilogue.

Under these exhaustive heads necessary religious guidance has been instructed by the saint to his son in order to regulate every walk of life scientifically and in the most natural way, and it is needless to discuss them when they are all based upon the original authorities. But it will be important to quote this *Chishti's* views about songs, music, etc., for the guidance of the present followers of the *Chishtya* order of saints, who overestimate the exact permission about them:—

(۱) اندر سماع باشد روا آں کس کہ میرد نفس او — جانے بود زندہ دروں، ورنے ترا بہتر حذر
ہے سمع اس سننا روا، جن نفس جیوں اس کا مرا — اس کا اپسے جینا ہوا، نئیں تو بہت پرہیز کر

(۲) تا مر ترا قوت بود رقصے مکن اے جان من — منکر مشو ایں حال را داں قال و قیل بیشتر
جو لگ تجھے ہووے یکت حالت نکو کر اے محب — منکر نہ ہو اس حال تے نا بوج توں اس کھیل کر
(۳) مطلق بداں حرمت غنا مشنو مناہی ہیچ گہ — طنبور و بربط، چنگ نے جملہ حرام ست در خبر
تعلیم تے رکھ راگ کے جو منع ہے نا میں کد ہیں — نے، چنگ، رباب ہور طنبورہ کہتے حرام اس کر خبر
(۴) در طبل ہم حرمت بداں الا کہ طبل غازیاں — دف ہم مزن در ہیچ جا جز در عروسی اے پسر
غازیاں کے طبلاں باج بھی دوسری حرام ہوے طبل — دف نا بجا کس گھر منے، منڈل عروساں کے بغیر
(۵) دانی غنائے زن فسوں چوں زہر ہوا آں مشنوی — بے شک بیفتی در بلا بر بند زیں کلی حذر
نا سن تو تاں تے راگ سن، حرصوں نے جب گیت او — بے شک بلا میں لیٹے اس کام تے پرہیز کر
(۶) اندر سماع چوں بشنوی کس نعرہ آہے می زند — ہرگز مشو منکر در آں شاید کہ باشد ازنکر
جو سمع کوں سنتے وقت ہا کا نعرے مارتا — نا بھول توں ہرگز اسے البتہ او ہووے گا مگر

Language

We have already seen above that the author of the Persian work was fully qualified in all branches of religion and naturally in Arabic as well, but, like the mystic writers of that age, he had a free choice to modify the pronunciation of certain words to fit them in the rhyme; *e.g.*, 'ḥiṣar', (ḥiṣr), 'makar' (makr), 'muqar' (muqir), 'qabar' (qabr), 'qaḍar' (qaḍr), etc. He has also overlooked prepositions and also short syllables in metrical feet, which we can notice in the verses quoted above; and at one place in the last canto he has translated a Hindustani proverb thus:—

کردم ہوس چوں زاغ رفتار کبکاں چوں کنم　　برباد شد رفتار من گشتم خجل ہم سر بسر
جیوں کی ہوس کیتا کوا جو چال ہنس کی ہیر چلیوں　　اڑ گئی اودا اپنی چال بھی تیوں ہوں خجل حیران تر

About the Urdu translation it will be enough to say that it is in the old 'Deccani' language and therefore contains generally those words which are not common now; *e.g.*, 'apin' (self), 'jauṭ' (like), 'kaḍ' (sometimes), 'ker' (of), 'kila' (alone), 'kubal' (difficulty), 'latakna' (to be proud), 'latpatna' (to be insnared), 'lorna' (to request), 'luk' (upto), 'thāoṇ' (place), etc.

THE ISLAMIC AND GHAZNAWIDE BANNERS

We know from the Rabbinical writers that the standards of various Western tribes bore figures devised from the prophecy of Jacob, the ravening wolf for Benjamin, the lion's whelp for Judah and the ship of Zebulon.[1] A sculpture, unearthed at Nineveh, bears a figure drawing a bow and standing on a running bull and another shows two bulls running in opposite directions.[2] Besides these figures, the white horse of Westphalia and the bull's head of the Mecklenburgers are also ancient symbols of heraldry.[3]

In the East we have ancient symbols as the five-clawed dragon of the Chinese Empire and the chrysanthemum of the Emperor of Japan.[4] In the Mahabharata we find different banners of different chieftains. Arjun is said to have had a banner containing the design of a rainbow and another with that of a monkey.[5] His son Abhimanyu had the representation of an elephant embedded with gold,[6] and so Karṇa had, but the field of his banner was white.[7] Bhishma's banner contained the device of a palm tree and five stars,[8] while Krishna had a "garüd" (or Eagle)[9] designed on his pennon.

The Islamic Banners

In the Pre-Islamic Arabia each Bedouin tribe had its own banner which differed in colour from those of other tribes. The banner was tied on to the lance and usually the chieftain himself carried it in the war. About the

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[1] *Enc. Brit.*, 11th edn., Vol. XIII, p. 311.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 454.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 311.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Bh. parva*, ch. 50, verse 34. I am indebted to my esteemed friend Dr. H. C. Seth for these lines.

[6] *Ibid.*, ch. 47, verse 8.

[7] *Karna parva*, ch. 11, verse 7.

[8] *Bh. parva*, ch. 46, verse 50.

[9] *Drona parva*, ch. 80, verse 2. The royal badge of Charlemagne (742–814), the sceptre of Henry III (1039–1056) and the banner at Möslen in 1080 all bore the device of an *eagle*. Henry I had hung round the neck of his son-in-law Geoffrey of Anjou a shield with golden lioncels. Richard I used a seal of three leopards and his brother John, Count of Mortain, that of two. See the *Enc. Brit.*, Vol. XIII, p. 312.

Holy Prophet's banner we get the following record in the Mishkāṭ (I'ḍāḍ-u-Ālaṭil-Jihād):—

(ع٣٠٠٦) وَعَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ كَانَتْ رَايَةُ نَبِيِّ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ سَوْدَاءَ وَلِوَاؤُهُ أَبْيَضَ — رَوَاهُ التِّرْمِذِيُّ وَابْنُ مَاجَةَ.

(ع٣٠٠٧) وَعَنْ مُوسَى ابْنِ عُبَيْدَةَ مَوْلَى مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْقَاسِمِ قَالَ بَعَثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الْقَاسِمِ إِلَى الْبَرَاءِ بْنِ عَازِبٍ يَسْأَلُهُ عَنْ رَايَةِ رَسُولِ اللهِ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقَالَ كَانَتْ سَوْدَاءَ مُرَبَّعَةً مِنْ نَمِرَةٍ — رَوَاهُ أَحْمَدُ وَالتِّرْمِذِيُّ وَأَبُو دَاوُدَ.

(ع٣٠٠٨) وَعَنْ جَابِرٍ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ دَخَلَ مَكَّةَ وَلِوَاؤُهُ أَبْيَضُ. رَوَاهُ التِّرْمِذِيُّ وَأَبُو دَاوُدَ وَابْنُ مَاجَةَ.

These traditions show that (*a*) the Holy Prophet's "rāyat"[10] was of black square-sheet and (*b*) his "liwā" was *white*, when he entered Mecca in Ramaḏān, A.H. 8 (= January, A.D. 629). This was the time when he declared complete peace and safety for all and it is just possible that it is only after this date that the white flag has become the symbol of peace for all nations of the world (n. 13, infra).

Fortunately we have got a manuscript by Jāru'llāh Ghanīmī in the Bankipore Library, known as "Risālatu'l-alwiyah" (a treatise on flags), which deals with the Holy Prophet's different banners and is based upon

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[10] There is a difference of opinion regarding the meanings of "rāyaṭ" and "liwā". Some call the former a "big banner" and the latter a small one. Others assert the other way. In the treatise of Ghanīmī, which we are discussing in the next pages, we get the same controversial account about this meaning on f. 4*a* :—

واللواء هو العلم الذى يحمل فى الحرب يعرف به موضع امير الجيش وقد
يجعل فى مقدمة الجيش واول من عقد الالويه ابراهيم الخليل بلغه
ان قوما اغاروا على لوط فعقد لواء وسار اليهم - وقال بعضهم صرح جماعة
من اهل اللغة بترادف اللواء والراية اى فيه يطلق على كل اسم الاخر
وعن بن اسحاق وابن سعد ان اسم الراية انما حدث يوم خيبر - انتهى -

="Liwā" is that banner which is fixed in the camp of the commander-in-chief and it is sometimes raised in front of the battle-array. The prophet Abraham was the first man to raise a "liwā". When he knew that some people attacked the prophet Sodom he raised it and went to him (for help). Some say that a group of lexicographers have asserted that "liwā" and "rāyat" are the same and applied for each other. Ibn Isḥāque and Ibn Sa'd say that the word "rāyaṭ" was originated on the day of the battle of Khaibar in Muḥarram, A.H. 7 (=May, 628).

authorities, like Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa'd, etc. We give here some useful quotations from it:—

وذكر صاحب الرسالة الزهراء فى جواز لبس العمامة الصفراء انه صلى الله
عليه وسلم دفع للزبير ابن العوام (يوم بدر) راية صفراء وعممه بعمامة
صفراء وانه صلى الله عليه وسلم كانت له عمامة صفراء . . . . . .

. . . .

وحمل اللواء وكان ابيض فى غزوة بدر سعد
بن ابى وقاص . . . وقد كان للنبى صلى الله عليه وسلم لواء ابيض فى
ست غزوات وَدّان وبُواط والعُشَيرة وبدر الاولى وبدر العظمى وبنى
قَينُقَاع واما فى غزوة احد فكان له ثلاث الوية كما فى الموهب ولم
يعين صفتها وكذا الراية فى غزوة ذى قرد وخيبر وفتح مكة وفى
غزوة تبوك امر صلى الله عليه وسلم بكل بطن من الانصار والقبايل العرب
ان يتخذ والواء وراية كما فى المواهب قال وصرح جماعة بترادف اللواء و
الراية لكن روى احمد والترمذى عن ابن عباس كانت راية النبى صلى الله
عليه وسلم سوداء ولواءه ابيض ومثله فى الطبرانى عن بريدة وابن عدى
عن ابوهريرة وزاد مكتوب فيه لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله . . . .
وذكر ابن اسحاق وكذا ابو الاسود عن عروة ان اول ما حملت الراية يوم خيبر
وما كانوا يعرفون قبل ذلك الا الالوية . والله اعلم .
. . . . لا يخفى ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كان اذا اراد ان يبعث
سرية عقد لها لواء ودفعه لامير السرية فمن ذلك انه بعث عمه حمزة
فى ثلاثين رجلا من المهاجرين وعقد له لواء ابيض وهو اول لواء عقد
فى الاسلام وحمله ابو مرثد حليف حمزة ومن ذلك انه بعث عبيدة بن
الحارث فى ستين او ثمانين راكبا من المهاجرين وعقد له لواء ابيض وحمله
المقداد بن عمرو . واما فى الغزوات فكثير ففى فتح مكة كان لواء رسول الله
صلى الله عليه وسلم ابيض مكتوب فيه بالاسود من برد يمانية لا اله الا
الله محمد رسول الله . وفى فتح مكة عقد الالوية ودفعها للقبايل وفيه
عقد لابى رواحة لواء ابيض وامر بلالا ان ينادى من دخل تحت لواء ابى
رواحة فهو امن . وعقد لسعد لواء ثم امر عليا ان ياخذه منه ويرفعه
لانه تيسر فى غزوة حنين عقد الوية ورايات وجعلها بين المهاجرين فاعطى

سعد بن ابی وقاص راية واعطى عمر بن الخطاب راية واعطى لواء الخزرج للحبا
بن المنذر ولواء الاوس لاسيد بن حضير وفی غزوة تبوك دفع لواءه الا
عظم لابی بكر الصديق وراية العظمى لاسيد بن حضير وراية الخزرج للحبا
بن المنذر ودفع لكل بطن من الانصار وقبائل العرب لواء او راية . . . .
. . . . كان لواءه فی غزوة ودان .
ابيض وكان مع عمه حمزة وفی غزوة بواط كان ابيض وكان مع سعد بن ابی
وقاص وفی غزوة العشيرة كان لواءه ابيض مع علی بن ابی طالب وفی غزوة
بدر الكبرى دفع صلى الله عليه وسلم اللواء الى مصعب بن عمير وكان ابيض كان امام
صلى الله عليه وسلم رايتان سوداء تان احداهما مع علی بن ابی طالب كرم الله
وجهه ای ويقال لها العقاب كانت مرط العايشة . . . .
وفی غزوة قينقاع كان لواءه ابيض بيد عمه حمزة بن عبد المطلب رضى الله عنه

وعن سعيد بن المسيب ان راية النبی صلى الله عليه وسلم يوم احد مرط
اسود وراية الانصار يقال لها العقاب . . . . ان راية (الانصار)
تسمى العقاب كما ان راية النبی صلى الله عليه وسلم تسمى بذلك . . . .

Now we give here a free translation of the above passages:—

The writer of "Risālatu'z-Zahrā" speaks about the permission to put on a yellow turban, saying that in the battle of Badr (Ramaḍān, 2/March, 624) the Holy Prophet gave a *yellow* "rāyat" to Zubair bin 'Awwām and also a yellow turban to him and he himself had a yellow turban for his head..... In the same battle he had a *white* "liwā" in the hands of Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.... The Prophet's "liwā" was *white* in the battles[11] of Waddān (Ṣafar, 1/August, 622), Buwāṭ (Rabī'II, 1/October, 622), 'Ushairah (Jumādā I, 1/November, 622), the first campaign of Badr (Jumādā II, 1/December, 622) the great campaign of Badr (Ramaḍān, 2/March 624) and Banī Qainuqā' (Shawwāl, 2/April, 624); but in the battle of Uḥud (Shawwāl, 3/March, 625) he had three "liwās", as we know from al-Mawāhib, and there is no peculiarity attached to them. Similar (white) was his "rāyat" in the battles of Dhū-Qarad (6/627), Khaibar (Muḥarram, 7/May, 628) and on the victory of Mecca (Ramaḍān, 8/January, 630). In the battle of Tabūk (Rajab, 9/November, 630) he had ordered all the platoons of the Ansār ("Helpers") and other (Arabian) tribes to have their respective

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[11] I have taken these dates from Ibn Khaldun (Tr. Aḥmad Ḥusain), Book II, Vol. III, 1927, p. 62, seqq.

" liwās " and " rāyats ". This is what we know from al-Mawāhib. Some people call " liwā " an equivalent for " rāyat ", but Aḥmad and Tirmidhī quote from Ibn 'Abbās that the Prophet's " rāyat " was black and his " liwā " was white. Similar is the quotation in the Ṭabarānī from Barīda and Ibn 'Adī's rhapsody from Abū Huraira, with the addition that the legend (kalima) was written on it (the latter)..... Ibn Is-ḥāq states and similarly Abu'l-Aswad from 'Urwah ibn Zubair that a " rāyat " was first raised in the battle of Khaibar (Muḥarram, 7/May, 628) and it was not known before that date but the " liwā "..... It is to be remembered that whenever the Prophet intended to send a " sariyya "[12] he made a " liwā " for it and gave it to its commander. So, when he sent his uncle Ḥamza at the head of thirty Muhājirs (" the Emigrants "), (most probably in 1/622) he prepared a *white* " liwā " for him. It was the first " liwā " of Islām and Abū Marthad carried it behind Ḥamza. Similarly, (in the same year) he sent another cavalry of sixty or eighty Muhājirs under the command of 'Ubaida ibn Ḥārith, and Miqdād ibn 'Amr carried the white " liwā ". In several battles, as on the victory of Mecca (Ramaḍān, 8/January, 630) the Prophet's " liwā " was of white Yaman cloth, on which the 'Kalima' was written in black. On that victory he got prepared several " liwās " and gave them to the different tribes. He gave one *white*[13] " liwā " to Abū Rawāḥa and asked Bilāl to announce that whosoever came under that banner would be safe and secure. The Prophet had prepared one " liwā " for Sa'd as well and later on asked 'Alī to give it to the former's son Qais. In the battle of Ḥunain (Shawwāl, 8/January, 630) he prepared several " liwās " and " rāyats ", which he distributed amongst the Muhājirs. He gave " rāyats " (in that battle) to Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir was given the " liwā " of the Khazraj tribe and Usaid bin Ḥuḍair that of the Aus. In the battle of Tabūk (Rajab, 9/November, 630) he gave his big " liwā " to Abū Bakr and the 'rāyat' to Usaid ibn Ḥuḍair, the " rāyat " of the Khazraj to Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir and other " liwās " and " rāyats " to other tribes..... The Prophet's " liwā " was white in the battles of Waddān, Buwāṭ, 'Ushairah and in the great campaign of Badr, and was in the hands of Ḥamza, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Muṣ'ab bin 'Umair respectively. And before him (the Prophet) there were two *black* " rāyats ", one being in the

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[12] " Sariyya " is different from " ghazwa " (=battle). The former was a sort of deputation sent by the Prophet and some one of his companions headed it. He generally sent them for making a truce with the adjoining people, although such deputations used to go well-armed in order to defend themselves, if a war ensued. For details see Maulana Shiblī's *Sīratun-Nabī* (second edn.), Vol. I, pp. 531–32, 357 *n.*, 289 *n.*, etc.

[13] Although white " liwā" was used on earlier occasions in Islam, yet this time it became the emblem of peace and safety for all who came under it.

hands of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (may God ennoble his countenance). It was made of the head-dress of the Prophet's wife. 'Āyisha and was called 'Uqāb (= "The Eagle"[14])..... In the battle of Qainuqā' the Prophet's "liwā" was white and it was in the hands of his uncle Ḥamza ibn 'Abdil-Muṭṭalib...... From Sa'īd ibn al-Musayyab we know that the Prophet's "rāyat" was of black cloth in the battle of Uḥud and that of the Anṣār was called al-'Uqāb and the "rāyat" of the latter was named after that of the Holy Prophet. This is a concise account of Ghanīmī's treatise and we hope to give other details in some paper of wider scope very shortly. We, therefore, like to pass on to the later periods of Islamic History, and in order to connect them with the Ghaznawide period, for which some fresh record will be noticed, we may just summarise here Margoliouth's essay on the symbols of the later Muslims (Hasting's *Enc. of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 145 seqq.) and also a note in Ma'ārif (January, 1944, pp. 56–57):—

After the Prophet's near successors (the four Orthodox Caliphs) the Muslim rulers adopted different symbols, but many of them followed in the footsteps of the Apostle of God. Thus the flag of the Umayyad Caliphs was *white* and that of the Abbasides *black*, with the legend in white, "Muḥammad is the Apostle of God". The latter adopted black colour in order to express their attachment with the deaths of Hāshimī martyrs, but Māmūn (d. 218/833) gave up black banners and clothes and adopted green colour for them. The Alides, too, had a green[15] flag and the Zangī

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[14] Krishna is also said to have had an eagle's device on his banner and so the Romans had. See *n*. 9, *supra*.

[15] The Urdu poets Anīs and Ḍabīr ascribe *green* flag to the army of Imām Ḥusain, with the figure of a human hand, with out-stretched fingures, on the top of it. It indicates belief in (1) Muḥammad, (2) 'Alī, (3) Fāṭima and their sons, (4) Imām Ḥasan and (5) Imām Ḥusain. But such a standard was not known in that (Islamic) age. Anīs also ascribes *black* flag to the army of Yazid. We may quote their verses here for an interesting record, but we should not take them as authentic :—

مرثیۂ انیس:۔ ع جاتی ہے کس شکوہ سے رن میں خدا کی فوج۔

رایت وہ سبز لشکر سادات کا نشاں　دامن پاک کشتیٔ امت کا بادباں　پنجہ مثال پنجۂ خورشید زر فشاں　پرچم تھا بال کھولے تھی یا حور جناں

مرثیۂ انیس:۔

جب رن میں سربلند علیؑ کا علم ہوا　فوج خدا پہ سایۂ ابر کرم ہوا۔　چرخ زبرجدی پئے تسلیم خم ہوا　پنجے پہ سات بار تصدق حشم ہوا

وہ شان اس علم کی وہ عباس کا جلال　نخل ثمر دوی کے تلے تھا علیؑ کا لال　پنجے پہ جان دیتی تھیں پریوں کا تھا یہ حال　غل تھا کہ دوش حور پہ بکھرے ہوئے ہیں بال

مرثیۂ دبیر:۔ ع پیدا شعاع مہر کی مقراض جب ہوئی۔

نکلا نکل کے خیمے سے جو پنجۂ علم،　دن کو دکھائے پانچ ہلال ایک بار ہم　انگشت کی انگلیاں سوئے پنجۂ علم　غل تھا وہ نکلا رایت پیغمبر امم

انیس جلد دوم، صفحہ ۲۸۲ (کان پور ۱۹۱۶ء):۔　نہ وہ علم سیاہ نہ وہ رذیلے تھے　تیغ و سپر بھی پاس تھی بے پا... تھے

(255/869) took a strip of silk as his standard, with a Quranic legend in red and green. The Fatimide Caliphs of Egypt (297/909–555/1160) had a *crescent* on their flags, accompanied by a *lion* of red and yellow satin. The Almohads (A.D. 1159), too, had a *crescent* on their flags. This symbol of crescent is said to have been inherited from Keroëssa, the mythical foundress of Byzantium and the supposed daughter of the Moon Goddess. Along with the stars (molets) the crescent figured as an ornament and rarely as a device on the coins of Byzantium.

In about A.D. 1270 a mosque of San'ā in Yaman had a minaret with a crescent as an ornament. It became the Turkish symbol as well and we find the following note in the *Enc. Brit.* (11th edn., Vol. X, p. 462) about it:—

"The Turkish crescent moon and star were the device adopted by Muḥammad II, when he captured Constantinople in 1453. Originally they were the symbol of Diana, the patroness of Byzantium, and were adopted by the Ottomans as a triumph, for they had always been the special emblem of Constantinople, and even now in Moscow and elsewhere the crescent emblem and the cross may be seen combined in Russian churches, the crescent badge, of course, indicating the Byzantine origin of the Russian church. The symbol originated at the time of the siege of Constantinople by Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, when a night attempt by the besiegers to undermine the walls was betrayed by the light of a moon, and in acknowledgment of their escape the Byzantines raised a statue to Diana, and made her badge the symbol of the city. Both the man-of-war and mercantile marine flags are the same, but the imperial standard of the Su'lṭān is *scarlet*, and bears in its centre the device of the reigning sovereign. . . . ."

According to Zinkeisen, as quoted by Margoliouth, such version about the origin of the Turkish symbol is wrong. He says that a golden crescent (and according to Von Hammer Purgstall, a silver crescent) had been primarily adopted by the Saljūq Turks after the Janissaries[16] (whose blood-red flag, specially of their cavalry, had a crescent and no star) and it was displayed on all the flags and standards of viziers, beglerbegs, etc.

Now we turn to Persia where the symbol of crescent and stars was common. Even in the Pre-Islamic days the coins of Yazdjird, Khusrav-i-Parvez, etc., contained the device of crescents with stars and so they

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[16] They were a sort of body-guards in the time of the Turkish Sultan Murad I (*d.* 1389).

were also under the Muslim governors[17] of Persia at least from the year 31/651.

In the Armug͟hān (Sep.–Oct., 1930), a Persian Journal of Tehran, we find a useful article "Ṭārīk͟hcha-i-Sher-o-K͟hurshīd", which first discusses the popularity of a 'lion' and 'Sun' as the important figures of the sky and land. The author then briefly traces their history, saying that the importance of a 'lion' was enhanced due to the fact that several kings of France, Rome and Armenia were named as Louis (= a lion) and consequently they (specially Louis II) had the figure of a 'lion' on their coins and flags. Louis II of Armenia who had supported the Christians in the 3rd Crusade and who had been promised a crown of sovereignty by Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, received a standard with the figure of a 'lion' after the death of the latter in 1190 and on the recommendation of his son to the Pope of Rome. Louis VI had particularly adopted 'lion' as the symbol of his dynasty. Similarly the Mongols of K͟hurāsān and the Ṣafawī kings of Mazendarān had the device of a lion on their coins.

Several poets also refer to this device, as the famous poet Rūmī (d. 672/1273) does:—

ما همه شیریم و شیران علم   حمله‌مان از باد باشد دمبدم

Fak͟hru'ddīn As'aḍ Gurgānī, who prepared a versified translation of the "Wīs-o-Rāmīn" towards the end[18] of the 5th century A.H. (= beginning of the 12th century A.D.) and in the reign of Malik Shāh Saljūqi (d. 485/1092) says, about a battle, therein :—

پرستان شده دست از درفشان   چو دیبائے درفشان مهر درخشان
فراز هر یکے زرّین یکے مرغ   عقاب و باز با طاؤس و سیمرغ
بزیر ماه در شیر آبگون رنگ   تو گفتی شیر دارد ماه در چنگ

The poet refers in these lines the Sasanide (A.D. 226–632) flags, having the figures particularly of *lion* and *moon* (unlike the golden cock of the Achæmenians, B.C. 550–330) and he cannot be said to have any inference from the contemporary Saljūqs, who had quite a different banner, containing the device of a *crescent* on the top.

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[17] For details see the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, Nov. 1942, p. 10, seqq. For Farīdūn's "Kāviyāni" banner see "*Irān ba-'ahd-i-Sāsāniyān*" (Tr. Dr. M. Iqbal), p. 677, seqq. For different Muslim crowns, canopies and other royal insignia see the *Ma'ārif*, Azamgarh, January 1944.

[18] Prof. Mahmud Sherani gives the date of its composition as 440/1048 in the *Urdu*, Delhi, January 1943, p. 4.

Another great poet Nizāmī Ganjawī who wrote his doublet "Lailā-o-Majnūṇ" in 584/1188 and dedicated it to Akhtisān ibn Manūchehr, brings out these lines about the war of Naufal with the tribe of Lailā:—

خورشید درفش ده زبانه   چون صبح دمیده دم فشانه
گشته زمی از درم چو دریا   سنگ ابله روتر از ثریا؛
هر شیر سیاه کایستاده   چون مار سیه دهان گشاده
شیران سیاه در دریدن   دیوان سپید در دویدن،

In these lines the poet cannot be expected to have had any idea of the flag of that fictionary battle, hence they suggest that he had an inference from that of his own age and it contained the device of a "Sun" in the black field.

Then the writer says that the "Sun" is related to "lion" (Leo) because of their zodiacal affinity and that Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafawī (d. 984/1576) who was born (on 26-12-919/28-1-1514) when the Sun was in the "Ḥamal" (= "Ram") position of the zodiac, adopted his symbol as "a lion on a sheep" in his coins..... The writer of the "Mukhtaṣar-i-Ta'rīkh-i-Duwal", who lived just after Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Kai-Khusrau, a Saljūq ruler of Asia Minor in the middle of the 7th century A.H. (= 13th century A.D.), says that he fell in love with a beautiful Christian lady of Gurjistān, whom he married and later wanted her device to be inscribed on his coins, but his courtiers advised him not to do so. Consequently, he inscribed 'Sun' over the popular 'lion' of his coins, believing that her face was so bright. The writer then asserts that there are no such coins of an earlier date and that from that time onwards this device of coins became popular and was adopted as symbol by the Persian courts as well.[19]

The Ghaznawide Banner

From Margoliouth (Hasting's *Enc.*, XII, 146) we know that Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn (d. 421/1030) had introduced the *crescent* as a sign of rule and domination in India. The contemporary authorities (*e.g.*, Ta'rīkh-i-Gardizi, Qazvīnī, pp. 49, 69, 76, etc.) say that he and his successors[20] submitted and paid homage to the Abbaside Caliphs and received diplomas (confirming their sovereignty or victory), titles and banners in return. As

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[19] Prof. Browne gives the title page of the oldest daily paper "Khulāṣatul-Ḥawādith", in *fac-simile*, in his "*Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*". It was published from 1316/1898 to 1321/1903 and bore, on its top, the device of a lion, with a sword in its right claw and a sun and a crown over it.

[20] Maulana Sulaiman Nadvi has written two books *Caliphate and India* and *Caliphate and the Muslim World* in Urdu, showing the caliphs' spiritual hold on different Muslim rulers.

these Caliphs had adopted *black* colour they would have certainly sent such banners[21] to Maḥmūd. His court-poet Farrukhī (d. 429/1038), while praising his brother Yūsuf, the commander-in-chief of India, refers to the *black* canopy and (probably to the black) banner thus:—

[22] چتر سیه و رایت تو سایه فگندست　　در هند بهر جاے که حصنے و حصاریست

Maḥmūd's grandson Ibrahīm (d. 492/1099) had a *lion's* device on his banner, as we know from his court-poet Abu'l-Faraj[23] Rūnī (d. after 497/1104):—

[24] چو شیر رایت شیر دلیر او بمیل　　چو شاخ آهو شاخ درخت او بے بر

His son Mas'ūd III (d. 508/1115), too, had the same device, as the same poet says:—

[25] در جهت پاس او به شیر فلک　　اگر اندر شود به شیر علم

Again from the same poet we know that Mas'ūd III's brother Saifu'd-Dawla Maḥmūd had also the same sort of banner:—

[26] چندان علم شیر برافراشت که بفزود　　زایشان بفلک برج اسد بے عدد اشکال

The same banner belonged to Sherzād (d. 509/1116) as well, the eldest son of Mas'ūd III, as we know from the poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān (d. 515/1121):—

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[21] Sanjar Saljūqī (*d.* 552/1157) had also a black canopy, as this verse shows:—

چون چتر سنجری رخ بختم سیاه باد　　با فقر گر بود هوس ملک سنجرم

In the *Miftāḥut-Tawārīkh* by Thomas William Beale (Agra ed., 1848, p. 69) this verse is said to belong to Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī (*d.* 561/1166), but in the *Intikhāb-i-Shu'arā-i-Mutaqaddimīn* (Hamīdiya Library, Bhopal, No. 3, f. 343 *b*) it has been ascribed to 'Irāqī (*d.* 688/1289).

[22] *Intikhāb-i-Farrukhī*, Lahore, 1354, p. 25 '*Unṣurī* (*d.* A.D. 1040) also suggests black banner (Lucknow, 1922, p. 42):—

بجاے پرنیان بر نیزهٔ او　　رداے خویشتن بربستے پیمبر

[23] For Rūnī's dates see the *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, May 1938, p. 55.

[24] Rūnī, Chaikeen ed., p. 61. Unsuri (*Ibid.*, pp. 89–90) would suggest that Maḥmūd had probably, a lion's device on his banner, although no definite proof is available. His verses are:—

برون برد علم تو ز مغز شیران هوش　　برون برد کرم تو ز روے پیران چین
بدیع لفظ تو دُرّ است و افتخار صدف　　بزرگ پاس تو شیر است و روزگار عرین

[25] *Rūnī*, Chaikeen, p. 89.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[27] خشتِ او بس که کرد شیران کم   شیرِ گردون بماند و شیرِ علم

Mas'ūd III's another son Bahrām Shāh (d. 552/1157), too, had the same sort of banner, as Sanā'ī (d. 545/1150) says:—

سه هرکجا شاه ما بتافت عنان   شیرِ رایاتِ او شود همه جان
[28] سه رای رایان به تیغ کرد قلم   نیزه را شیر کرده شیرِ علم

Bahrām Shāh's court-poet Sayyid Ḥasan (d. 555/1160) says likewise:—

سه آن چنان شیرِ علم سر بفراز دمثل   گوئی از چشمهٔ خورشید کند آب خوری
[29] زنده از بادِ مشو بهیبت چون شیرِ علم   تکیه بر خاک مکن خیره چون نقشِ ایوان

Like Maḥmūd, Bahrām Shāh had also a *crescent*, as his symbol, on his banner, as we gather from the following verses of the same poet:—

سه ماه اگر گشتی ز ماهِ رایتِ او بهره ور   مهر اگر بودی ز ماهِ رایتِ او مایه دار
رباعی. بگذشت هلالِ رایتِ شاه از ماه   من پای به گل دو دست کوتاه از جاه
[30] دور افتادم بقصد بدخواه از راه   ای شاه ز بند دور کن کاه از کاه

The pennon of his banner was *black* like that of his forefathers, as the same poet says:—

ای رفته زمین رایتِ او   دیده بر حمایتِ سیاهی
[31] سه بهرام شه ای شاه که از رایتِ شیرنگ   در کوکبه چون زلفِ بتان ماه گرفتی

Like Maḥmūd, Bahrām Shāh, too, had a *black* canopy and his (latter's) crown was *white*, as we find in the following verses of Sayyid Ḥasan:—

مگر ز چترِ تو شامِ سیاه گردون خواست   چو فرِّ تاجِ تو صبحِ سپید کار گرفت
بتبتِ چترِ سیاهت چیست مرغِ روزکور   لاجرم تا شد همه چشمش سپید از انتظار
روزی که بر نهی تو تاجِ سپید دم   گیرد کنار سایهٔ چترِ سیاه را
ملک دگر دار امید زان که بداد نوید   صبح ز تاجِ سپید، شام ز چترِ سیاه
[32] از تاجِ تست عکسِ صبحِ سفید پوشش   وز چترِ تست خالِ شامِ سیاه وار

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[27] His dīwān, *Tehran*, 1318, p. 563.
[28] *Hadīqa*, Bombay, p. 340 and Lucknow, p. 659, respectively.
[29] *India Office MS.*, No. 931, ff. 44*a* and 128*b* respectively.
[30] *Ibid.*, ff. 21*b*, and 182*b*, respectively.
[31] *Ibid.*, ff. 142*a* and 110*b*, respectively.
[32] *Ibid.*, ff. 20*b*, 22*a*, 113*b*, 114*a* and *Paris MS. Suppl.* 797, f. 10*b*, respectively.

The poet Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd has also referred to Bahrām Shāh's black canopy:—

[33] آن خنجر زدودش دولت فزای گشت   روی عدوش از او شده چون چتر او سیاه

From the Adābu'l-Ḥarb (Lahore, May 1938, p. 9) we know that Bahrām Shāh's father Mas'ūd III had a *falcon* on his canopy and so the former had, as we find in a verse of Sayyid Ḥasan in his praise:—

[34] مبارک اوج تخت او فلک را برکنار آرد   خجسته باز چتر او جهان را زیر پر دارد

This is all that we know about the Ghaznawide banner[35] and canopy.

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[33] *Badayuni Cal.* 1868, Vol. I, p. 43. Bahrām's brother Malik Arslan (whose history I have published in the Ma'ārif, Azamgarh, Nov.-Dec., 1941), too, had a black canopy as Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd (pp. 664, 490) says:—

گوید سپهر باشد دولت سپید روی   تا هست چتر ملک ملک ارسلان سیاه
روی دولت سپید و قصر سپید   روز دشمن سیاه و چتر سیاه.

These rulers adopted black canopy probably because of the Caliph's *black* litter, to which Khāqānī also refers:—

وان برج خلیفه متوج به ماه زر   چون شب کز آفتاب نهی تاج بر سرش.

[34] *India Office MS., ibid.*, f. 95*a*. Sanjar (n. 21, *supra*), too, had a *falcon* on his (black) canopy, as Anwari (Lucknow, 1880, p. 103) says:—

سلطان سلاطین که باز چترش   در معرکه سلطان شکار باشد

But in the Bhopal MS. (*n.* 21, *supra*), f. 359*b*, this verse has "Sher-i-chatrash" instead of "bāz-i-chatrash".

[35] Through the spiritual hold of the Abbaside Caliphs over these rulers we know that the Ghaznawides had inscribed their (formers') name on their coins. But a crescent and a star appear on the coins of Bahrām's grandson Khusrau Malik (*d.* 583/1187). See Rodgers' *Catalogue*, Cal. 1896, Part IV, p. 161. From the same book (p. 160, etc.) we know that the coins of Malik Arslān, Bahrām, etc., contained the device of a bull (cow?) and over it the words "Shri Samanta Deva" in Hindi. I have seen these coins with Professor Sherani at Lahore.

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS TO ZEBUNNISA

Zebunnisa, the learned and highly cultured daughter of Aurangzeb (d. 1707), lived a long life of 66 years (1048/1639—1114/1702), and like her father,[1] she, too, had the privilege of being attached to the spiritual order of the Mujaddidi saints of Sarhind. First she seems to have been attached to Muhammad Naqshband (d. 1115/1703), the son of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum (d. 1079/1668), as is inferred from one of his letters written to her after his Haj in 1095/1684:—

بعد الحمد والصلٰوة و تبلیغ التحیہ والسلام ۔ بجناب بادشاہ زادۂ پردہ نشین سرادقاتِ عصمت و عفت و عظمت و ابہت معروض دارد ۔ مدت است کہ از احوال خیر مآل آن فاطمۂ زمان خبر نہ دارد ۔ بہر حال بہ دعاے خیر ترقیات درجات و مزید حیات مقید است و اجابت آن را از درگاہ مجیب الدعوات مترقب ۔

می تواند کہ دہد اشک مرا حسنِ قبول — آن کہ در ساختہ است قطرۂ بارانی را

صاحبۂ عالم، دنیا زراعت گاہِ آخرت است کہ ہرچہ درین جا کاشت آنجا یافت ۔ باالجملہ وقتِ کار است کہ فردا کار باجبار است ۔ [قبل این] در مدتِ چند ماہ از راہ عنایتِ پادشاہِ دین پناہ نصرہ‌اللہ تعالیٰ، بعد زیارت سید الانبیاء علیہم الصلواۃ والتسلیمات، و قیام و طواف کعبہ و منیٰ بہ لشکر ظفر اثر رسیدہ و انواع عنایات از بندگان حضرت دیدہ ۔ بنابر آن بدین چند کلمہ متصدع خدمتِ علیا گردید ۔ کسے مخصوص از یارانِ خود حاجی منصور را فرستادہ تا بزودی بہ اخبار سلامتی ذاتِ قدسی صفات مسرور گردد ۔ امید کہ بزودی بجواب باصواب مشرف شود[2] ۔

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1. Aurangzeb had become the disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum (d. 1079/165 . the son of Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani (d. 1034/1624). See مکتوبات معصومی, Vol. II, Letter No. 64; Vol. III, Letters 6, 122, 221 and 227. He was later attached to Khwaja Saifu'ddin (d. 1096/1685), the son of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum. See علمائے ہند کا شاندار ماضی (by Maulana Sayyid Muhammad Miyan), Vol. I, pp. 359-367, Delhi 1963.

The present writer has published his letters in two volumes in 1963. See his letter No. 72 in Vol. I.

Later, Zebunnisa took the spiritual guidance from Muhammad Naqshband's cousin 'Abdu'l-Ahad (d. 1126/1714), the son of Khwaja Muhammad Sa'id (d. 1071/1660), the son of Hazrat Mujaddid. He was commonly known as "Shah Gul"[1] and his pen name was "Wahdat". He was the author of 27 works[2] (all unpublished so far). The following letters, addressed by him to Zebunnisa, some time after 1109/1697, when he had performed[3] his Haj and when the princess must have been over 61 years, would show how he consoles her in her parting days from this world:—

مکتوب چهل و چهارم - دربیان مدح درد و غم به بادشاه‌زادی دختر بادشاه عالمگیر صدوریافت

هوالله، الله، ثم الله، الله سبحان‌الله، و چه نویسم و چه گویم و به وانمایم۔ اگر از و گویم نتوانم گفت و اگر از غیر او سخن رانم هم ناروا و نادرست۔ هیهات هیهات ازوے محال و از دیگرے وبال در وبال۔ لیکن ازوے گفتن اگرچه ناتمام باشد اولیٰ تر از انکه از غیر اوبود۔ هرچه تمامتر باشد در سلک خریدارانش باید بود۔ هر چند با تار ریسمانی از هوادارانش باید شد۔ هرچه در زندانے۔

چه عیش است بودن گرفتار او — خوش آن مرغ کو ره بدامش برد

زهے گرفتاری که از آوان جهان گرفتار آنند۔ زهے زندانے که گلشن و گل نشینان در هوائے آن :

شاخ گل مرغ قفس گشت بمرغان چمن
تا بنوشه گلی روے تو کشودیم نفس

چگونه دریئے آن بے قرار و بے آرام نباشند که قرار دران بے قراریست و آرام دران بے آرامي۔ لیکن مَن لَّم یذُق لَم یدر۔

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1. See Ghulam 'Ali Azad's "Sarw-i-Azad", under "Sa'du'llah Gulshan", who was a pupil of Shah Gul. Thus his poetical lineage was: Gul—Gulshan-'Andalib—Dard and Athar.
2. The present writer has obtained some of them from Maulana 'Abd'ullah" Jan of Garhi Hazrat Khel, Malakand (Peshawar Division) and proposes to publish th m.
3. In the unpublished collection of his letters he has given the year of his Haj in his letter No. 72. The second letter (infra) gives a reference about his holy pilgrimage.

یکے ز برگ خزاں گفت زرد روز چه‌ئ
بگفت تا کہ نہ دانی بہار معذوری

لیلیٰ ز زلفِ مشک بو هرکس کہ دیده موبمو
داند کہ زنجیر از چه او در گردنِ مجنون بود

از غایتِ قدر شناسي بہ این ترانہ مترنّم اند:-

هر تیره شبے کہ باتو ام افتد راز
هم از طرفِ شام کند صبح آغاز
با این هم گر عوض دهندم نہ دهم
کوتاه شبے چنین بصد عمرِ دراز

آماده گشتہ ام دگر امشب نظاره را
پیوند کرده ام جگرِ پاره پاره را

گفتہ ام ولے گویم و خواهم گفت کہ اگر نہ درین زندان خانہ متاعِ درد و الم می بود و مشارق و مغارب آن بہ کوئے نمی ارزید و اگر نہ تخم اشکے درین مزرعہ بدست آمدے سرلسر سراب بے ابرو و خرابہ بے رنگ و بو بودے— ع- هرکہ برد گنج ازین ویرانہ برد-

از اینجاست کہ فرمودند کانَ رسول الله صلی الله علیه وسلم دائم الفکر و متواصل الحزن-

بس کنم گر این سخن افزون شود   خود جگر چه بود کہ خارا خون شود

ع- توگر شاعری مصرعے دفتریست

دیگر این درد مندی خود را هیچ قدر و قیمت نمي دهند و داخل اعتداد و اعتبار نمي شمرند- زیرا کہ الکبریاءُ ردائی و العظمۃ اِزاری برنفی آن گواهی می دید- بس بکمند [لطف] عمیم نہ بمصائد زروسیم، چنین آواره را بدست آوردن آخر نہ زیبانست؟ وچنین جماعۂ خیر خواه را ازآن خود ساختن

و در هواخواهی و دعوات إلهی، فواره وار مرطوب اللسان داشتن مگر نه نیکوست !

ما سبک روحان حریفان گران جانی نه ایم   همچو بوی گل نسیمی می کند تسخیر ما

کلامنا إشارات و بشارات۔ عالی تبارا، رفیع القدرا، حقاً و عزت الله تعالی ازان روزی که رشته دعوات ترقیات آنجناب عالی را محکم گرفت، هرگز نگذاشته و نخواهد گذاشت۔ اما، دربند آن مباش که نشنید یا شنید۔ وچون درین ایام عابده بانو از توفیقات آن عالی مرتبه را باین دعاگو ظاهر ساختند، چه مرقوم سازد وچه بیان. خوش وقتی نموده آید و مراتب دعوات و خیر خواهی را تا کجا ترقی دارد ۔ زادکم الله سبحانه شوقاً و ذوقاً و کمالاً و آبهة و ترقیاً فی الدنیا ولآخرة۔ آمین۔

تا بود گفتگو سخنم نا تمام بود   نازم به خامشی که سخن را تمام کرد

مکتوب چهل و هفتم ۔ در بیان حزن و غم به زیب النساء بیگم بادشاه زادی دختر بادشاه اورنگ زیب صدو ریاضت ۔

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم ۔

ای خدا درد مرا درمان مکن — درد مندان را ز بی دردان مکن

عزیزه من، درین راه هیچ چیز مثمر ترا از غم و اندوه نیست و هیچ متاعی بالا تر از سوزو گداز نه ۔

متاعی کزین ره گذر می برند — لب خشک و چشمان تر می برند

در حدیث نفیس است ۔ لَوْ أَنَّ مَحْزُوناً بَكَى فِي أُمَّتِهِ رَحِمَ اللّٰهُ تِلْكَ الْأُمَّةَ بِبُكَائِهِ وَمَنْ أَرَادَهُ اللّٰهُ خَيْراً جَعَلَ فِي قَلْبِهِ نَائِحَةً ۔ یعنی اگر غمگینی بنالد در امتی، البته رحم کند خدا سبحانه، آن تمام امت را بسبب ناله او و کسی راکه الله سبحانه، لطف و احسان کند می اندازد در دل وی نوحه گری ۔ [کسی] خوش گفت :۔

مغنی برو نوحه گر را بیار — فگن زخمه و نیشتر را بیار

ازینجاست کہ از احوال سرور کائنات صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم خبر دادہ اند کان دائم الفکر و متواصل الحزن۔ یعنی بود پیغمبر صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم دائم در فکر و همیشه در حزن۔ در ان مقام پیر بزرگوار این خاکسار نکتہ بلند فرمودند کہ اگر نہ در دنیا متاع و شراب گوارائے الم می بود بہ جوئے نمی ارزید۔ روزے این فقیر در روضۂ منورۂ سرور کائنات صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم سر بمراقب بود درین ولا ورقے از عالم غیب بر زانو افتاد، چون بکشادم، نوشتہ بودند لَا تَفْرَحْ اِنَّ اللّٰهَ لَا يُحِبُّ الْفَرِحِيْنَ و عليك بالحزن فَاِنَّ اللّٰهَ يُحِبُّ كُلَّ قَلْبٍ حَزِيْنٍ۔ یعنی خوش وقت مباش زیرا کہ دوست می دارد خدا سبحانہ ہر دل اندوہگین را۔ با خود گفتم، شعلہ در خرمن سخت افتاد۔ مین بعد عافیت را کار نیست، سودائے دیوانگی در سر ریخت۔ اکنون هوشیارے را بار نیست۔ خانہ تا عہدے آباد بود، الحال ویرانہ می باید شد۔ فرزانگی تا دیرے بود، بعد ازین دیوانگی باید نمود۔ عمرے در گلگشت لالہ زار عافیت بود، این زمان بادیہ پیمائی وادی محبت باید شد۔

ہم سایۂ افسردہ دلان چند توان بود — ای سوختگان خانۂ پروانہ کجا شد؟

و بر زبان حال دو بیت گذشت۔

گذشتہ ست آنکہ چون افسردۂ چند — دلم بودہ بخواب و خورد خورسند

کنون جانم ملول از کار هستی ست — حریف عشق را آغاز مستی ست

از آن روز تا امروز درین وادی اندوہ اقامت ورزیدہ ام و درین کوچۂ سلامت از آن باز وطن گرفتہ و از صحبت بے غمان و خورسندان هراسانم۔

یہ بلبلان چمن بے غمان نواسنجید — نوای مرغ قفس می کند اسیر مرا

آرے در عشق بجز گداختن نیست، این سوختن است، ساختن نیست۔

درین راه آرام در بی آرامی است و کام در ناکامی۔ ساز در سوز است و راز در گداز۔ راحت در جراحت است و عزت در مذلت۔ آزادی در گرفتاریست و وارستگی در وابستگی۔ این جا غم، مایهٔ سروریست و الم سرمایهٔ حضور۔

غرض، از عشق تو ام چاشنی دردو غم است
ورنه زیر فلک اسباب تنعم چه کم است

بالجمله دوست آوارگی همی خواهد، تا توانی، خواهش او را بر خواهش خود مقدم دار۔ و عنان هوای خود از دست مگذار۔ یک خانه دو مهمان نگنجد۔ أَنْتَ الْغَمَامَةُ عَلَىٰ شَمْسِکَ دَعْ نَفْسَکَ وَ تَعَالَ۔ و اگر نتوانی سر خود گیر و نام عاشقی را بر خود مپسند۔ ع نازکان را سفر عشق حرام است حرام زیبا گفته اند آنکه گفته :-

اگر داری دلے در سینهٔ تنگ — مجال غم درو فرسنگ فرسنگ
صلاے عشق درده ورنه زنهار — سر کوے فراغ از دست مگذار

هیچ دانی این همه سوز و گداز از تو چرا خواهند و این همه دردمندی و آوارگی از تو چرا طلبند! خواهند که ترا بتمام از تو بستانند و قبلهٔ توجه را از هر جانب گردانیده بحضرت خود متوجه سازند، زهے سعادت و کامرانی۔

ع آن را که سلطان خود کشد، دانی چه باشد آبرو ؟

مَنْ قَتَلَهُ فَأَنَا دِيَتُهُ۔ ای کم خرچ، بالا نشین اگر خواهی که تنعم و کامرانی کنی، نفسے چند در پی آن بی قرار باش و اگر خواهی که قالب تو طلایه گردد، زمانے چند در بوتهٔ محنت، آتش خوار باش۔ آرے جلوهٔ جفاے یار، بے جفاے اغیار و تماشاے گلزار بے مزاحمت خار دشوار است۔ حکماء گفته

اند کہ صحتِ مزاج بے تلخی دوا و نوشِ عسل بے نیشِ زنبور محال است ۔ "در" قائلہ :-

تا همچو حنا سوده نہ گردی تہ سنگ   هرگز بہ کف پاے نگارے نہ رسی
تا خاک ترا کوزه نہ سازند کلالاں   هرگز بلب[باده گسارے] نہ رسی

ای عزیزم بادشاهان باریافتگان را وقتِ رخصت بخلعاتِ نفیسہ و عطیاتِ شریفہ ممتاز می سازند و برعلو همت و سمو فطرتِ دلالت می فرمایند، باید تفکر نمود کہ آدمی از حضرتِ لاهوت درین خاکدانِ ناسوت چون اول قدم نہد جز گریہ و زاری چیزے زادِ راه نیاورده باشد و جز این گوهر بے بہا متاعے دیگر سرمایۂ همراه نہ داشتہ بود، خوش آن کسے کہ از اول تا آخر ازین وادی پا بیرون نہ گذارد و بنور حضور و شادمانی جاودانی سرفراز گردد۔ قطعہ:-

یاد داری بوقتِ زادنِ تو ــ هم خندان بدند و تو گریان
آنچنان زی کہ وقت مردن تو ــ هم گریان بوند و تو خندان

عزیزۂ من، مشاور این کار عقل دوراندیش را نباید کرد و در راه دیوانگی تدبیر ظاهری را رفیق نباید ساخت۔ خوش گفت:-

دل اندر زلف لیلیٰ بند و کار از عشق مجنون کن
کہ عاشق را زیان دارد مقالات خردمندی

راه عقل جداست و راه عشق و دیوانگی جدا۔ عقل، گل و گلزار می خواهد و عشق، آتش شعلہ بار می خواهد۔ عقل در بندننگ و نام است و عشق آوارۂ این مقام است۔ مثنوی :-

شادباش ای عشق خوش سودای ما ــ ای طبیب جملہ علتهای ما
ای دوای نخوت و ناموس ما ــ ای تو افلاطون و جالینوس ما

زین خرد بیگانہ می باید شدن — چنگ در دیوانگی باید زدن

آزمودم عقل دوراندیش را — بعد ازین دیوانہ سازم خویش را

عقل گوید جبہ و دستار کو — عشق گوید خانۂ خمار کو

عقل هستی می کند کین درخوراست — عشق مستی می کند کیں درخوراست

عقل می گوید پریشانی مکن — عشق می خندد کہ نادانی مکن

عقل می گوید کہ این آسودگی ست — عشق می گوید کہ این آلودگی ست

عشق را گوئی کہ در قرآن نگفت — عشق را در کنج ما اوحی نہفت

رب ارنی از زبان عشق بود — لی مع الله از زبان عشق بود

عشق نبود پیشۂ هر بوالهوس — عشق را هم عاشقان دانند و بس

زیادہ ازین چہ مستمعان را ملال دهد و از حدیث پر هول آسودگان را چہ بے آرام سازد۔

در نیاید حال پختہ هیچ خام بس سخن کوتاہ باید والسلام

SOME UNPUBLISHED WORKS OF HAZRAT JALAL OF HERAT

Hazrat Jalal of Herat, a Naqshbandi Saint,[1] has to his credit a number of works, not known to history so far. Here we discuss a rare manuscript,[2] comprising his works in Persian. It has got 395 folios and the first 134 folios contain a Persian commentary on the Quranic chapters 36 (ff. 1 a—29 b),[3] 45 (ff. 33 a—36 b), 46 (ff. 36 b—41 a), 47 (41 a—45 b), 48 (ff. 45 b—70 b), 49 (ff. 70 b—84 a), 50 (ff. 84 b—105 b), 54 (ff. 105 b—108 b), 56 (ff. 108 b—112 a), 57 (ff. 112 a—117a), 61 (ff. 117 a—118 b), 62 (118 b—120 a), 64 (ff. 120—121 b), 67 (ff. 122 a—124 a), 71 (ff. 124 a—126 a), 74 (ff. 126 b—127 b), 75 (128 a—129 a), 76 (ff. 129 a—131 a), 78 (ff. 131 a—132 a), 92 (ff. 132 b—133 a) and 93 (ff. 133 a—134 a). This commentary is wholly tinged with Sufistic hue and is, no doubt, one of the oldest works of this type.[4] The author has, off and on, given verses of various poets and also of his own. We may quote here a part of his commentary on the chapter 48, which opens with a lengthy preface:—

حمدی که عارفان گویند و ثنای که کاملان طریقش بویند حضرت خداوندی را جل جلاله و عم نواله که باصالت مستحق حمد و ثنا حضرت اوست و بس - چه در جمال و کمال و انعام و احسان بحقیقت باوی شریک نیست کس - همه ازوست و باوست و غیر ازین اعتقاد نه نیکوست - لمؤلفه:-

وحدهٔ لا شریک له می گوی　　چرک شرک خفی ز دل می شوی
همه زو دان و زو ببین پیدا　　باش دایم ز عشق او شیدا
دل بغیرش مده که آخرِ کار　　خجلتت بار آورد بسیار
حسنِ خوبانِ دلربا بجهان　　پرتوِ حسنِ اوست گشته عیان
چشم بکشا ز صفحهٔ آثار　　قلمِ قدرتش ببین درکار
از اثر در گذر مؤثر بین　　پرده بگذار و پردگی بگزین
چون جلالی مدام از پیِ یار　　باش مردانه فارغ از اغیار

و تحفهٔ تحیات زاکیات نثار مرقد منور و مشهد معطر عارف کامل رسیده بحقیقت جان و دل عالم اسرار غیب، شاهد انوار جمال لاریب :- لمؤلفه

محمد نازنین نازنینان — محمد دلربای دلربایان
محمد مطلع صبح سعادت — محمد مخزن گنج هدایت
محمد عارفان را نور دیده — خدا او را بمحبوبی گزیده
ز وصفش عقل عاجز، عشق حیران — فلک از شوق او بیخویش گردان
بمدح او جلالی تر زبان دار — اگرچه عجز داری خود ازین کار

اما بعد - می گوید درویش خاک راه، غلام ارباب انتباه، از درد دوری دردمند و از محنت مهجوری مستمند، از بی اعتباری در طریق حقیقت پایمال، جلال احسن‌الله حاله فی‌الدنیا والآخره بمحض الجود والافضال که با قلت بضاعت و عدم استطاعت در خاطر افتاد بی سببی ظاهر این جرأت که بقدر طاقت از روی نیاز و ارادت گرد حریم حرم بانزاهت سوره إنّا فتحنا بر آید و چشم بصیرت کشاید، شاید از حقائق و معانی که درین سوره درج است چیزی در یابد و آن را وسیلهٔ حصول دولت ابد و سعادت سرمد سازد.

الٰهی برویم دری باز کن — ز حرمان زهان، محرم راز کن
دلم ساز روشن ز انوار خویش — مرا ساز عالم باسرار خویش
بطاعت ز عادت مرا وارهان — بکوی طلب دار هر سو دوان
بعشق خودم دار فارغ ز غیر — که نبود مرا جز بسوی تو سیر
بانوار عرفان بگورم در آر — بمهرو تولّا ز گورم بر آر

این عجاله را از کمال دعاگوئی، بنابر امر، نه از روی فضولی، مزین می گردانم بنام سلطان نیکو کام بجودو سخا فقیران را رساننده بکام، به‌نسب و حسب سامی، باوصاف و اخلاق گرامی.

چگویم وصف او‌کش عزو رفعت — بود وصّا ف . . . گفت و مدحت
ز وهب حق ارادت زینت او — سعادت زان لباس و خلعت او
دل اهل دلان را صید کرده — ز میدان گوی دولت را ربوده

اعنی سلطان نیکو صورت، پسندیده سیرت، معین ارباب شریعت، مرید اصحاب طریقت، الٰهی ذات او را چون اسم عزیز ساز بتحقیق احکام حقیقت۔

عبدالعزیز شاه پسندیدهٔ گزین مقبول محرمان سرا پردهٔ یقین

الٰهی دل شریف او را زیاده بر زیاده اقبال بر طریق حق کرامت فرمای و بصورت و معنی ابواب فتح و فیروزی بروی بکشای، عدالتش افزون کن و در دولت او روزگار ظلم و ستم دیگر گون کن،

ز عدلش جهان را چنان شاد کن که گردد فراموش ظلم کهن

باقبال و دولت مراو را بدار بعالم همه کام او را بر آر

ز شاهان عالم فزونیش ده ز مهر خودش مهر بر سینه نه

سالکان راه طریقت و طالبان جمال حقیقت را ثبت است که در اول کار و طلب یار اول رو باید گرداند از اغیار که بی دوری اغیار، اقبال پسندیده نمی افتد از مرد کار، ازین جاست که بزرگان فرموده اند و طریق تحقیق نموده اند که اول دل از دشمن بردار، دوست را خود طلبیدن چه حاجت ست۔

تا در نزنی بهرچه داری آتش هرگز نشود حقیقت وقت تو خوش

مارا خواهی خطی بعالم درکش کا ندر یک‌دل‌دو دوستی ناید خوش

و (آیهٔ) کریمهٔ واذکر ربک اذا نسیت، بصریح ارباب طلب را اعلام و ارشاد نموده، حاصل بیاد دوست جمع نه‌باید ساخت یاد دیگری‌را ای دوست که دوست بمثل چون مغز است و دیگران پوست و پوست را در یاد و توجه شریک گردانیدن نزد اصحاب محبّت و بصیرت نه نیکوست۔

دلارامی که داری دل درو بند دگر چشم از همه عالم فرو بند

از (آیهٔ) کریمه ان الله لا یغفر ان‌یشرک به و یغفر ما دون ذالک لمن یشاء پند پذیر و جز آستانهٔ محبت مطلوب حقیقی مبیر که جمال و جلالش بمثابهٔ ایست که هیچ جمال و جلال را باوی رتبهٔ اعتبار نیست

بل بحقیقت جز حضرت او را جمال و جلال نیست۔ رباعی۔

ای فرع جمال تو جمال همه خلق　　وی فرع کمال تو کمال همه خلق
این طرفه که ذات تو بااین پیدائی　　بر تر ز تصور و خیال همه خلق

إنا فتحنا لک فتحا مبینا۔ ترجمه این کلام معجز نظام که مبشر است مر حضرت سید انام را صلی الله علیه و علی آله و اصحابه الکرام آنست که بدرستی که ما خداوندیم فتح کردیم از برای تو فتحی پیدا و ظاهر و هویدا که نزد بعضی از علما صلح حدیبیه است و نزد بعضی فتح مکه و بنابرین علما تفسیر این کریمه چنین کرده اند که ما بکشادیم برای تو شهر مکه را۔ تعبیر بماضی جهت تحقق وقوع است و این در عرف عرب شایع است و سر آن می نماید۔ والله اعلم که مستمع را اطمینان و آرام خاطر بکمال حاصل آید و دغدغه مرفوع گردد۔

From this extract it is evident that Maulana Jalal calls himself as Jalali in poetry (in '*hamd*' and '*na't*', supra) and that he dedicates this treatise to Shah 'Abdul-'Aziz of Herat.[5]

Another important point in the extract is that the author believes in وحدة الشهود, as he asserts in the '*hamd*'. This belief is according to the later Naqshbandi saints. Under the second verse of the above Quranic chapter, the author comments as follows:

و ارباب تحقیق و معرفت فرموده اند که درین کریمه اشارت است بفتح حقیقی کمالی که از سایر کمل و مرسلین به آن مخصوص و ممتاز است و آن تجلی انوار ذات است بوصف احدیت و این فتح حقیقی را که فتح کعبهٔ جان و دل است، علت ساخته مر فتح کعبه صوری را و قبلهٔ ظاهری را و چون تجلی ذات سلب ذات سالک که اصل است که صفاتش همه فرع است می نماید و حقیقت نیستی او را در ذات و صفات و افعال ظاهر می سازد پس چون در ماضی و مستقبل و حال موجود حقیقی نمی یابد، غیر ملک متعال بس سلب نموده می آید۔ از وی جمیع افعال بس مغفرت گذشته و

آینده می نماید جمال -

بد کردم و اعتذار بدتر ز گناه　　چون هست درین عذر دو دعوای تباه
دعوای وجود و دعوای قوت و فعل　　لا حـول ولا قـوة الا بـالله

اما باوجود این حال آن صاحب کمال برعایت حسن ادب و تحقیق رتبهٔ عبودیت با کمال حریت استغفار می نمود و باین نیاز متدی باب ترقی در مدارج قرب محبوبی حقیقی بر خود می کشود و عمل بر وفق نمود با کشف حقیقت بود، می فرمود -

کسی مرد تمام است کز تمامی　　کند با خواجگی کار غلامی

و این عمل از مقتضای اعتدال حقیقت مقام دل است که جامعیت او را حاصل است و این حال فتح کعبهٔ دل است که علت شده مر فتح کعبهٔ آب و گل را درین حال و کمال عارف مدام بانوار متباین و احوال مختلف در کار است، گاه از ذوق خندان و گاه از غم اشکبار است، گاه بحکم لی مع الله وقت از ملکیت و انسانیت در گذشته و گاه با خدیجه رض و عائیشه رض بحکم بشریت در ساخته و طرح مباسطت انداخته۔

گهی بر طارم اعلیٰ نشینم　　گهی تا پشت پای خود نه بینم

Such interpretation is purely Sufistic and may be compared with a contemporary Quranic commentary by Ya'qub Charkhi[6] (d. 851/1447) of the same order of Naqshbandi saints.

After the commentary of the above-mentioned chapters of the Holy Quran, the present manuscript contains other treatises, which may briefly be discussed here.

From folio 135-a to 163-a, there is a discussion on the 99 names of Allah and it begins thus:—

باسمه سبحانه - حمدی بر تر از هر مقال و ثنای که نیاید از اهل کمال حضرت خداوندی را جل جلاله و عم نواله که واجب الوجود است، ممکن را از وی مایه و سوداست، عبادتش طریق بهبود است، مخالفش کور و کبود ..

. The treatise has again a Sufistic trend and is, as usual, full of verses. It ends with a 'munajat' thus:

ز غفلت تبه شد مرا روزگار — که شوم ست غفلت کسی را ز یار
ز غفلت مریضم خرابم خراب — ز غافل نیاید بجز نا صواب
علاجم بغیر از تو ناید ز کس — طبیبم تو باید که باشی و بس
بیک جذبهٔ لطف کارم بساز — کرم کن، مکن کار برمن دراز
ز عشق خودم ساز مست آنچنان — که آیم ز ذوق تو دستک زنان
ز اغیار فارغ ز خود بی خبر — فرو شسته دست از همه خیرو شر
خرد هیچ ازین حال آگاه نیست — بجز عشق کس را به وی راه نیست
جلالی گرت این هوس در سر است — ره عقل بگذار، ره دیگر است
بعشق و جنون دست زن مرد وار — کزین آخر آئی از و بهره وار

Then from folio 164-a to folio 186-b ranges another treatise on the belief of the "Divine Realities". After the praise to Allah and the Holy Prophet (peace be on him), the author says:

اما بعد، این کلمهٔ چند است در بیان اعتقاد بحقائق الهی و عالم غیب مستنبط از معارف عارفان و مقتبس از کلام کاملان ------- اول بار که این فقیر زاجر بینی از جا در آورد و طلب حق سبحانه در دل پدید کرد بملازمت و صحبت عارف کامل ------- راهنمای کعبهٔ حقیقت مخدومنا مولانا شمس الملة والدین محمد روجی[7] قدس الله تعالی روحه رسید، چون جمال ایشان را دید، ارادت ایشان بجان پسندید -----

The author subsequently narrates the bits of advice given to him by his spiritual master Maulana Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad, a disciple of Hafiz Sa'du'd-Din Kashghari (d. 860/1456), a disciple of Muhammad Parsa (d. 822/1419), who was a disciple of both Hazrat Bahau'd-Din Naqshband of Bukhara (d. 791/1389) and of his son-in-law 'Alau'd-Din 'Attar (d. 802/1400).

The treatise ends with the following lines:

الهی مرا وا رهان از خودی — که زانم بود هرچه هست از بدی

حضوری بخود ده مرا آنچنان — که در وی نماند ز امکان نشان

ازین نیستی ام به هستی میار — ز شغل خودم هیچ فارغ مدار

جلالی نخواهد ز تو غیر ازین — که عشقش کنی مذهب و کیش و دین

بدل تخم حسنش بکاری تمام — سخن ختم کردم برین والسلام

Thereafter, another treatise begins from folio 188-a and ends on folio 195-a. It deals with the explanations of various passages from some work of Sufi 'Abu Muhammad Murta'ish,[8] a contemporary of Junaid of Baghdad (d. 302/914). After the *'hamd'* and *'na't'*, the author says:—

اما بعد این کلمهٔ چند است مقتبس از مشکواة ولایت ارباب هدایت و معرفت که فقیر بی بضاعت و حقیر بی استطاعت جلال الهروی ثبتّه الله تعالیٰ علیٰ منهج الصدق و السداد فی قول والعمل و الاعتقاد در شرح بعضی از نکتهای مرتعش قدس الله تعالیٰ روحه و افاض علینا فتوحه ، جمع ساخته بالتماس برادری از برادران دین ، امید بکرم الٰهی آنکه پسندیدهٔ هر پسندیده آید - قال المرتعش قدس سره ، صوفی آن بود که اندیشهٔ وی با قدم وی برابر بود - ای جمله حاضر باشد - دل آنجا که تن ، تن آنجا که دل ، قول آنجا که قدم ، قدم آنجا که قول ، و این نشان حضوری وی بود بی غیبت - برخلاف آنکه گویند از خود غائب و بحق حاضر ، لا بل بحق حاضر و بخود حاضر و این عبارت از جمع الجمع بود - از آنچه تا رویت نبود بخود غیبت نبود از خود و چون رویت برخاست حضور بی غیبت است . . . .

From folio 196-a begins another treatise, wherein the author, after the usual 'hamd' and 'na't', says:-

این کلمهٔ چند است در بیان وحدت و احدیت و واحدیت مقتبس از مشکوات معرفت عارفان که جمع ساختهٔ جلال پریشان از برای برادران و دوستان

It is a lengthy discussion, which ends on folio 217-a. Then from folio 219-a, again a lengthy treatise starts with usual preface of praises to Allah and the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). The writer then says:-

می گوید کمینهٔ گدایان کوی مردان، خاک روبهٔ آستانهٔ عاشقان، جلال پریشان که با قلت بضاعت، اقدام نمود برین جرأت که فرا خور استعداد تحقیق شعب ایمان نماید بامید آنکه شاید کسی را ازان گره اشکال کشاید و طالبان را باعث مزید هدایت آید. الٰهی نیت را خالص دار و قدم قلم را از لغزش نگهدار و توفیق تحقیق شعب ایمان که کمال مرد بآنست، بقول عارفان، رفیق این درویش بی نوا [برای] طالبان ساز و بورود ارادت و احوال که هست میراث اعمال، همه را بنواز۔

بتوفیق خویشم سر افراز کن   برویم در معرفت باز کن

The author has discussed 77 branches of faith, which are very important for a Muslim Society and a Muslim individual. This valuable treatise closes on folio 268-b, whereafter a commentary on a fragment of the doublet by Jalalu'd-Din Rumi (d. 672/1273) begins. The fragment is as follows:—

داد جاروبی بدستم آن نگار   گفتازین دریا برانگیز آن غبار

آب آتش گشت و جاروبم بسوخت   گفت ازین آتش تو جاروبی بر آر

The discussion is a small one and it closes on folio 273-b. Then another work on the commentary of a few verses of Jalalu'd-Din Rumi begins and is spread out from folio 275-a to folio 279-b. Thereafter, another small work, namely راهنمای عقده کشای, ranges from folio 280-a to 283-a. It is a guide to the correct belief for a pure Muslim and a true Sufi. Then again a treatise on the correct path of Sufis begins from folio 284-a and ends on folio 291-b.

From folio 293-a an important work منهاج المریدین begins thus:-

حمد و ثنای که ملائکهٔ مقربین و جنس جن و انس از ادای آن عاجز باشند، معبودی را که دریافت کنه عظمت او، مقدور مخلوق نیست و صلوات زاکیات نثار روضهٔ منور و مرقد معطر فردی که باصالت حق را سبحانه جزو محبوب نیست، صلی الله علیه و علی آله و اصحابه و اتباعه اجمعین۔ می گوید خاک روبهٔ آستانهٔ اهل کمال جلال احسن الله حاله فی الآمال که در هنگام خورد سالی که محل غفلت و بی خبری از حقیقت بود، قاید

عنایت الٰهی بموجب کریمهٔ و ان الفضل بیدالله یوتیه من یشاء داعیهٔ دریافت صحبت اهل الله در دل این بی جان متمکن گردانید و در طلب ایشان پا از سر ساخته بهر طرف دوانید ـ الحمد لله علی نعماء تا روزی بتائید الٰهی و لطف سبحانی بشرف ملازمت قدوة العارفین زبدة الموحدین مولانا شمس الملة والدین محمد روجی[9] که از کبار اصحاب و خلفای حضرت قطب الاولیا مولانا سعد الملة والدین الکاشغری قدس الله روحهما بودند مشرف گردید .

This treatise comprises one preface and four chapters, which end on folio 319-b. Under the first chapter he writes:-

فصل اول در سبب و کیفیت رسیدن بصحبت حضرت قدوة العارفین زبدة المتاخرین مولانا شمس الملة والدین محمد روجی قدس سره ـ در بیان و اظهار و آنچه از ایشان دیده و شنیده و از مردم معتمد تحقیق نموده ـ سبب رسیدن این درویش بملازمت آن مخدوم آن بود که والد این بیچاره بملازمت سلاطین اشتغال می داشت ـ او را از پادشاه وقت تو همی در خاطر افتاد ـ بنابر آن فرار را برقرار اختیار نموده و این فقیررا چون خورد سال بود پیش جد و جده گذاشت و ایشان صالح بودند و قبل ازان نماز نمی گذاردم ـ ایشان مرا بنماز دلالت کردند و سن این فقیر در آن وقت پانزده بود ـ روز جمعه جد این فقیر این فقیر را همراه بمسجد جامع هراة برد و در موضعی بنشست ـ بعد از زمانی جوانی خوب صورت در صورت اهل صلاح بیامد و به پهلوی من بنشست ـ در حال که چشم بجانب او فتاد دل از دست داد و لذت محبت چشید ـ

لذت عشق فرو رفته مرا در رگ و پی
عشق می گویم و جان می دهم از لذت وی

مدتی قریب بچهار سال گرفتار محبت او بود و طریق مودت او می

پیمود - در آن اثنا در دل ارادت باهل الله یافت و محبت مجازی را مقدمهٔ محبت حقیقی دانسته بجانب آن شتافت و آن را از انعام و اکرام الٰهی شناخت - الحمد الله علیٰ نعمایه - روزی در غیر جمعه بمسجد جامع در آمدم. پیری دیدم نورانی، دانای اسرار نهانی، مریدان را دلبر و دلآرام، سالکان را از صحبت او کام، بارادت گردش دویدم لیکن آن روز از دهشت بخدمتش نه رسیدم - چند روز حال گذشت برین منوال - تا نوبتی در مسجد بایشان واخوردم، تبسم نمودند و فرمودند، چند روز شد که ترامی بینم که بر گردما می گردی، پسر کیستی و چه قصه داری - عرضه داشت نمودم که پسر فلانم و صحبت شمارا جویانم - فرمودند پدر تو آشنای ماست - بعد ازان گفتند جوان بودم و مرا والدهٔ صالحه بود که از معنی باطنی، نصیب تمام داشت و در روج می بودیم و در آن وقت عمل من بر وجهی که می بایست نبود - روزی پیش والده در آمدم - در من نگریست و آهی بغایت دردناک کشید - چنانچه من متاثر گشتم و گفتم ای مادر چه قصه داری - گفت ای فرزند و نوردیده، مرابتو امیدی ست و ترا باآن طور نمی بینم - گفتم بگوئید که شما را بمن چه امید است - فرمود که قبل از تو مرا پسری بود و خاطر من بدو بسیار نگران بود - نا گاه پنجهٔ اجل دست حیواةً او را برتافت - فراق و جدائی او دود از من بر آورد - روز و شب مرا بگریه و غم می گذرانید و دمادم زهر اندوه می چشانید -

هرکه او از هم زبانی شد جدا   بی نوا شد گرچه دارد صد نوا

تا شبی حضرت رسول را صلی الله علیه وسلم بخواب دیدم، فرمود غم مخور و جزع منمای که حق سبحانه ترا عوض فرزند صالح دراز عمر خواهد داد - چون از خواب در آمدم تسکینی در خود یافتم و منتظر می بودم تا حق سبحانه ترا بمن داد و حالا ترا نه بر طریقهٔ می بینم - ازین حکایت متاثر گشتم گفتم ای والده چه کنم که حضرت رسول را صلی الله علیه

وسلم بخواب بینم - گفت امشب نماز خفتن بجماعت بگذار و بوضو قصد
خواب کن و در محل خواب صلواة بر حضرت رسول فرست - چنان کردم،
در خواب دیدم که والدهٔ من مرا می گوید که می خواهی که حضرت پیغمبر
را دریابی صلی‌الله علیه وسلم - گفتم آری - دست مرا بگرفت و روان شد و
بموضعی در آورد - دیدم که حضرت رسول صلی الله علیه وسلم در مجمعی
از صحابه نشسته و یکی نشانها بر طریقهٔ سلاطین می نویسد - مادر من فریاد
بر آورد و گفت یا رسول الله آن فرزندی که مرا وعده داده بودی اینک
آورده ام - آنحضرت صلی الله علیه وسلم متوجه من شد و روی به آن صحابی رض
که نشانها می نوشت، کرد و فرمود از برای او ولایت نامهٔ بنویس و مرا
پیش خود خواند و روی مبارک خود در روی من مالید - آب چشم من بر
محاسن آنحضرت و آب چشم آنحضرت بر محاسن من می دوید، ازان لذت عظیم
یافتم و در آن لذت از خواب در آمدم در کمال ذوق و سرور - مادر من
بر من در آمد و گفت - ای فرزند خواب که دیدهٔ تو میگوی با من و او هم
خواب خود مرا بتمام بگفت - از ملاحظهٔ آن حال دل من بکلّی از دنیا سرد
گشت و طلب حق سبحانه دامن جان من بگرفت - روی بطاعت و عبادت آوردم
و هر چند شب حضرت را صلی الله علیه وسلم بخواب می دیدم و عنایات
می یافتم تا آنکه شبی آنحضرت صلی الله علیه وسلم فرمود شیخی طلب کن
تا آداب طریقت ترا بیاموزد - چون از خواب در آمدم بنابر آن امر سلطان رسل،
صباح همان شب بی توقف متوجه شهر هراة گشتم - چون بشهر در آمدم از
مردم سراق شیخی کامل مشهور نمودم - مرا بخدمت شیخ صدرالدین رواسی
نشان دادند که از اصحاب شیخ بزرگ شیخ زین الملة والدین خوافی[10] علیه

الرحمه بودند- چون بر ایشان در آمدم آنچه می جستم نه دیدم.

In the second chapter the author gives the accounts of his meetings with Maulana Kohi; in the third chapter those with Shaikh Imadu'd-Din Fadlullah, and in the fourth chapter he narrates meetings with such men of excellence who had spent time in the company of spiritual people. This treatise is therefore an important work on contemporary record as well. Lastly comes a commentary on the 28 Lam'at of Shaikh 'Iraqi (d. 688/1289). It ranges from folio 321-a to folio 395-b and ends with the following lines:

تمام شد شرح لمعات[11] شیخ عراقی رحہ که یافته بود دولت آگاهی، بر دست جلال لاهی، در بیان حقایق شاهی، امید که بطفیل مردان و گفت و گوی سخن ایشان رسد بذوق معانی و تجلیات جمال الٰهی-

الٰهی بتائید خویشم نواز | که بی آن عجب خوارم و درگداز
چو تائید یا بم ز جودت روان | شوم تیز رفتار چون شاطران
کنم در رهت پا ز سر مرد سان | بجذبه چو مرغان پرم بعد ازان
بیک حمله آیم فراز جهان | کنم طی بساط زمان و مکان
امیدم بفضل تو بسیار هست، | امیدم بر آر و مدارم بہست

This is a short introduction to Shaikh Jalal's works, which are now available. He might have written other works as well, but they are not known so far.

Maulana Jalal has quoted the following verse of Maulana Jami (817/1414—898/1492) on ff. 99a and 394 b:-

هر لحظه جمال خود نوع دگر آرائی شوری دگر انگیزی، شوقی دگر افزائی

He might have, therefore, died not before the end of the ninth century A.H. (the end of the fifteenth century A.D.).

NOTES

1. He was a disciple of Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad, a disciple of Hafiz Sa'du'd-Din Kashghari (d. 860/1456), a disciple of Muhammad Parsa (d. 822/1419), who was a disiciple of both Hazrat Bahau'd-Din Naqshband (d. 791/1389) and of his son-in-law Alau'd-Din 'Attar (d. 802/1400). See folio 293a of the manuscript.
2. This rare manuscript is from the collection of Dr. N. A. Baloch (Professor of Education, University of Sind, Hyderabad) who kindly lent it to me for preparing this article.
3. From folio 30a to folio 32a there is a discussion by the author on the various names of Allah and then a catch-word مسجو is found on the margin of the latter folio, preceding a blank page. This has, in fact, been written by mistake by the scribe, as it has been repeated from folio 135a as an introduction to a treatise.
4. The present writer has quoted a number of early Persian translations and commentaries of the Holy Quran in preface to Makhdum Nuh's translation of Quran, part I, Hyderabad, 1962.
5. Most probably he was the son of Ulugh Beg Gurgan. Both of them died in 853/1449, hence the above commentary must have been written before that date.
6. His commentary of the 1st chapter and the last two parts of the Holy Quran are in manuscript form with the present writer. This much has already been published from Bombay some time about 40 years ago.
7. He is called "Rumi" in a manuscript of the University of Sind, which the present writer has published in 1959, but in the manuscript, which we are dealing herewith, he is called "Ruji on ff. 164a, 293a, 300a, etc., and this must be correct, as we get a reference of the place "Ruj" on folio 300b, infra.
8. For his account see 'Attar's Tadhkiratul-Aulia, Nicholson ed., Vol. I, p. 85.
9. The author has mentioned this name and also of Maulana Sa'du'd-Din on folio 283a as well.
10. He was also a disciple of Muhammad Parsa (d. 822/1419), the disciple of Hazrat Bahau'd-Din Naqshband (d. 791/1389).
11. Jami, has also written a commentary on the Lam'at.

Historical Data in the Diwan of 'Azim of Thatta

The Persian poet 'Azim[1] of Thatta (Old Sind, West Pak.) belongs to the Talpur period, about which he has written a lengthy and detailed versified history "Fath-Nama", named after Mir Fath 'Ali Khan (1217/1802), the most popular figure of his dynasty. His DIWAN, which has been edited by the writer under an assignment from the Sindhi Adabi Board, abounds in historical facts, hence it is necessary to have a general survey of his period before we discuss its literary style.

The Talpurs and the Kalhoras.

During the reign of the Moghal emperor Akbar, the Talpurs appear to have lived in the province, now known as Baluchistan, and at a later date they gradually attained political suzerainty in the present districts of Hyderabad, Khairpur and Mirpurkhas. One of them Hotak Khan (son of Kako Khan, Sulaiman Khan) had a son Shahdad Khan, who founded the city of Shahdadpur. After his death in 1147 A.H. (1734 A.D.) his two sons Chakar Khan and Mir Bahram Khan (about whom we will see details just now) were famous for their valour and generosity. The latter, along with his second son Mir Subedar Khan, was killed in 1189/1775 at the instance of Miyan Sarfaraz Khan, the son of Ghulam Shah of the Kalhora dynasty. Mir Subedar Khan left four sons: Mir Fath 'Ali Khan, Ghulam 'Ali Khan, Karam 'Ali Khan and Murad 'Ali Khan.

The Kalhora dynasty had the privilege of recognition by Ahmed Shah Durrani who had confirmed Miyan Sarfaraz Khan's grand-father Miyan Nur Muhammad, as the ruler of Sind,[2] in 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.). The latter's son Ghulam Shah, too, received a royal Sanad, bestowing upon him the title of "Shah Wardi Khan". In 1186 A.H. (1772 A.D.) Miyan Ghulam Shah died of paralysis on the 22nd of Jumada I, and about this time Ahmed Shah Durrani had also died and was succeeded by his son Timur Shah. The Miyan's son Sarfaraz Khan was placed on the throne and Timur Shah sent a robe of honour to him, with a Sanad,[3] confirming the new ruler with the title of "Khudayar Khan".

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1. That is Sayyid Muhammad Azimuddin s/o Sayyid Yar Muhammad and the nephew of the renowned scholar, poet and historian Mir Ali Sher 'Qani' of Thatta. He was born in 1163 A.H./1750 A.D. and died in 1229 A.H./1814 A.D.
2. A History of Sind by Mirza Qalich Beg, Vol. II, p. 151 (Karachi, 1902).
3. Ibid., p. 161.

During the reign of Miyan Ghulam Shah, the famous Bahram Khan Talpur (mentioned above) enjoyed high esteem because of his valour against the Afghan army, which had tried to reinstate the Miyan's brother 'Atar Khan in 1172/1759. On the death of the Miyan, his son Sarfaraz Khan, too, had regards for Bahram Khan, as he was his chief councillor. But one courtier Raja Likhi was jealous of him, so he poisoned Sarfaraz Khan's ears against Bahram Khan and charged the latter with conspiracy[1] against the ruler. The interested people fanned the fire and the faithful Bahram had no recourse but to search for his fortune elsewhere. His eldest son Mir Bijar set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but the younger son Mir Subedar Khan would not leave his father. One day when Bahram Khan had come to pay respects to Miyan Sarfaraz Khan, the latter treacherously made him read a letter which he said he had received from his son Mir Bijar from Muscat enroute to Mecca. When Bahram put on his spectacles to read the letter, one servant Husain pounced upon him with a sword and cut off his head. "How can he be called Husain (says Fath-Nama), when he behaved really as Yazid?"[2] Some assailants rushed out to kill Subedar Khan, as well, but he managed to kill many of them and also Allah Bakhsh, the son of Raja Likhi. Subsequently, Subedar, too, fell under the heavy blows in the year 1189/1775.[3]

Mir Subedar Khan had four sons, who first waited for a time, expecting the arrival of Mir Bijar. But as they did not receive any news of his coming back soon, the eldest amongst them (*i.e.* Mir Fath 'Ali Khan) lost patience. He took the keepers of the fort of Sarfaraz Khan quite unawares and killed many of them without any difficulty. Miyan Sarfaraz secretly went out with a few attendants and his brother Mahmud Khan was placed on the throne at Khudabad. Mir Fath 'Ali Khan then marched with his forces against the fort of Hyderabad. When the treacherous Raja Likhi saw the growing power of Fath 'Ali Khan, he joined him and induced other nobles, as well, to the same effect. Within a week the fort was taken but Fath 'Ali Khan would not rule till Mir Bijar's return, so he withdrew to his headquarters at Shahdadpur. Eventually, the nobles found time to raise Miyan Ghulam Nabi (s/o Miyan Nur Muhammad) to the throne instead of Mahmud Khan.

About this time Mir Bijar returned from Haj and came to Qalat (through Karachi) whose ruler Muhammad Nasir Khan received him warmly. He offered him a large army, but as Mir Bijar did not like bloodshed, he proceeded towards Umarkot and in spite of several intrigues on the part of Raja

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1. Ibid., p. 166.
2. Ibid., p. 167, p. 2.
3. In the تاریخ بلند! (134) the chronographic verse on his death is as follows:-

به سال وصالش ملک بر فلک ـ بگفتا "بفردوس خر گنه زد"

The numerical value of the words, within commas, comes to 1189 (A. D. 1775), but Mirza Qalich Beg (II, 168) has given 1188/1774.

Likhi's sons he did not prepare for the battle. The Raja's son Taja killed Mir Ghulam Nabi in 1190/1176. Mir Bijar was very sorry to learn the sad news, so he sent an army in search of the villains. Several chiefs of the opposite side then tried to win the Mir's favour and the opponents like Allah Bakhsh Jhinjan, Muhammad Hasan *Khuhawar* and Mehrab Jatoi (once the chief minister of Miyan Mahmud Khan) joined him. The noble-minded Mir Bijar pardoned them readily.

After Ghulam Nabi's death his brother 'Abd-al-Nabi became ambitious to occupy the throne, so he killed all the claimants, *i.e.*, Muhammad Sarfaraz, his sons 'Atar Khan and Mir Muhammad, and also his brother Mir Mahmud Khan who had been placed on the throne after his flight. This happened in 1190 A.H.[1] (1776 A.D.).

As there was no other Kalhora chief living, 'Abd-al-Nabi was called by Mir Bijar at his headquarters Khudabad from Hyderabad and at Hala the turban of rulership was placed on his head at the shrine of Makhdum Nuh. He was then escorted to and lodged in the palace of Muhammad Sarfaraz Khan at Khudabad. Mir Bijar then became the chief minister of the new ruler and the people witnessed justice and peace throughout the realm. Pardon became a general blessing and even Allah Bakhsh Jhinjan and Taja Likhi were spared.

Some envious people represented to king Timur Shah (s/o Ahmad Shah Durrani) that Mir Bijar was the real ruler and that he would not be disposed to pay the annual tribute, unless he was chastised. The king then sent an expedition against Sind, under the leadership of 'Izzat Yar Khan, who had once been as hostage to his court and was a cousin to 'Abd-al-Nabi Khan. People, far and near, joined the Afghan forces under the command of Mahfuz Khan. They were about 30,000 men, but Mir Bijar's 18,000 Balochs could easily defeat[2] them at Shikarpur.

When the king heard the news of this defeat, he started personally to fight against the Mir, but when he found that the Mir was really loyal and that he had prepared a bridge of boats for the king to pass over at Lohri (modern Rohri), his anger was much appeased. He then reinstated 'Abd-al-Nabi as the ruler of Sind and returned.

About this time two Hindu Rajputs came as envoys from the Raja of Jodhpur and hinted to Mir Bijar that the Raja had received some secret letters from Miyan 'Abd-al-Nabi speaking ill of the Mir. They came close to him and suddenly pounced upon him with a dagger. The Mir jumped up and

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1. Mirza Qalich Beg (II, p. 174) has given this date as 1197 A.H. (1783 A. D.) but it is wrong because Mir Bijar, who followed this event, died in 1194/1780.

2. The date of this victory, as given by Mirza Qalich Beg (II, p. 177), is 1186 A.H., but it must be wrong, because Mir Bijar, who was its hero, died in 1194 A.H., as several contemporary chronograms record it.

killed them along with their two attendants instantly. But he soon fell down dead, before any help could arrive. "Thus died the wisest, bravest and most pious nobleman, that Sind had ever produced".[1] This sad event occurred in the year 1194 A.H.[2] (1780 A.D.).

Miyan 'Abd-al-Nabi later thought that his life was not secure at the hands of the Balochs who had assembled round Mir 'Abdullah, the son of Mir Bijar. The Balochs tried their best to remove fear from his mind, but his councillors did not advise him to recognise their loyalty, hence he left for Qalat. After his departure Mir 'Abdullah put the turban of rulership on one Sadiq 'Ali's head, as he was a kinsman of the late Kalhoras.

After a short time Mir 'Abdullah, who was then acting as the chief minister of Miyan Sadiq 'Ali, faced the attacks simultaneously by Baje Singh, the Raja of Jodhpur, and Muhammad Nasir Khan of Qalat, along with Miyan 'Abd-al-Nabi and the mercenary forces of the *Nuhmardis* (Numrias) of the hilly tracts. At the very outset Mir 'Abdullah, along with Mir Fath 'Ali Khan and Mir Suhrab Khan, could have an opportunity to give a crushing defeat to the Rajputs in 1194 A.H.(?) Soon after the event, 'Abd-al-Nabi came as far as Larkana with a Brohi force, supplied to him by the Khan of Qalat and commanded by the latter's son-in-law *Zaraq*. Mir 'Abdullah advanced with his army and met the enemy at the bridge of Chalak, but as his cousin Fath 'Ali Khan had received a bullet-wound in the last battle with the Rajputs, he was not fighting satisfactorily. Any way, Mir 'Abdullah re-doubled his vigour and defeated the enemy, killing *Zaraq*, Mehrab Jatoi and a number of other prominent soldiers. He thus successfully returned to his capital Khudabad.

Meanwhile, Miyan 'Abd-al-Nabi returned to Qalat, where he learnt that Sardar Madad Khan Afghan had come as far as Bahawalpur (the country of Muhammad Bahawal, the chief of Dawudpotas), but that he would help him only on payment of money.

The Mir reluctantly allowed the Sardar to proceed as far as Khudabad and rest there, but the Sardar allowed his army to plunder. Eventually, great massacre and disaster prevailed and the Mir could no more tolerate the torture of the poor people, so he collected an army and advanced to meet the Sardar. But before actually fighting with the Sardar, the Mir sent a message, saying that the purpose of his march was to check the people's massacre. The Sardar, however, reconciled and he sent his people to collect the treasures as promised

1. Mirza Qalich Beg, II, p. 179.

2. Ibid., p. 179, n l. In the لب تاریخ سند (p. 137) two chronograms are noted on his death.

از سر افسوس گفتا هاتفم - "میر شد از جمدر هندو شهید"

۱۱۹۴ هـ

ع به محل شهدا جلوه کرد میر بجار

by 'Abd-al-Nabi. The latter was thus forced to collect money from any quarter and by any means. Hence a reign of terror commenced and the poor people prayed for mercy.

When Mir 'Abdullah Khan knew about these wailings he consulted his cousins Fath 'Ali and Ghulam 'Ali and also his uncle Mir Suhrab and thereafter he proceeded from Umarkot to Khudabad. He then sent a message to Sardar Madad Khan, reminding him his words. The Sardar again reconciled but he asked the Mirs to disband their men in order to show loyalty to the king Timur Shah. But the Mirs were wise enough to read his mind, so they declined to disband their kinsmen. Mir Fath Khan, son of Mir Maso Khan, had joined the Sardar, but as he soon knew of the Sardar's ill intentions, he escaped from his camp. The Sardar then found it advisable to leave the country for good in the year 1159 A.H. (1781 A.D.).

Afterwards Miyan 'Abd-al-Nabi tried to be reconciled to the Mirs, so he entreated Muhammad Bahawal, the chief of the Dawudpotas, to help him in the matter. The Mirs were nobleminded, so they again recognised 'Abd-al-Nabi as their ruler, as he sweared on the Quran. Other Mirs like 'Abdullah Khan and Fath Khan were at first shown great respect and confidence, but one day (in 1197/1782) both of them were treacherously killed.

Fath 'Ali Khan.

Mir 'Abdullah died, leaving two little sons Ghulam Husain and Bahram, while Mir Fath Khan left two grown-up sons Allahyar and Thara Khan. Now Mir Fath 'Ali Khan (s/o Mir Subedar Khan) was recognised[1] as the head of the Balochs and he collected his kinsmen, without any loss of time, to march against 'Abd-al-Nabi. First he proposed to shift all families and baggage to the fort of Dingarh and then to fight the enemy. So he marched towards that fort and occupied it. When the families and children were comfortably lodged in the fort, he started with an army of 6,000 Balochs accompanied by his brother Ghulam 'Ali Khan, his uncle Suhrab Khan, Fath Khan's sons Allahyar and Thara and also Bagha Faqir, the son of Mirza Faqir.

'Abd-al-Nabi prepared along with his helpers like Bilawal (s/o Raja Likhi), Ghulam Hasan (s/o Allah Bakhsh), Taja Samtia, Dhingana Jatoi, Peruz Kaleri, Peruz Talpur, etc. The commander-in-chief was Muhammad Hasan Khuhawar. Different tribes like Nuhmardis, Khosas and Afghans (under Sardar Khan and Ishaq Khan) joined them.

With about 30,000 fighting men, 'Abd-al-Nabi proceeded to Halani, while Mir Fath 'Ali Khan without waiting for any succour to be brought by his uncle Suhrab Khan, attacked the enemy and killed Muhammad Hasan

1. His مسجع, as noted in the لب تاریخ سند (p. 146), is:-

داد نصرت خدا بہ فتح علی - بہ مدد گاری نبی و علی

His verses are also quoted in the same book on page 145.

Khuhawar. The latter's brother Baqir also met the same fate. Mir Suhrab Khan then attacked on the Samtias and killed both Taja and his brother Allahdad. A crushing defeat was effected on 'Abd-al-Nabi who escaped in a boat to the other side of the river. This important event, that marked the ascendancy of Mir Fath 'Ali Khan, occurred in 1196 A.H. (1782 A.D.).

Fath 'Ali then halted at Naushahro Feruz, but he had a busy time again. 'Abd-al-Nabi's defeat, however, perplexed Baje Singh, the Raja of Jodhpur, because his garrison was posted at the fort of Umarkot, which had been given[1] to him by Miyan 'Abd-al-Nabi. The Raja sent a force, which met Mir Ghulam Muhammad, brother of Mir Suhrab Khan, on the way, and killed him. This news infuriated Suhrab Khan, who rushed on the Rajputs, killed them in their country and returned with booty.

Miyan 'Abd-al-Nabi, for the third time, made entreaties to Muhammad Nasir Khan of Qalat for help, which he did, but simultaneously informed Mir Fath 'Ali Khan about it. 'Abd-al-Nabi was expecting help from the Raja of Jodhpur as well, but the latter could not send the force in time and the Miyan returned in despondency. He, however, preferred to go to the king Timur Shah and tried to poison his ears against Mir Fath 'Ali Khan. In the meanwhile the Mir, too, sent Sayyid Ibrahim Shah and Qaisar Faqir Nizamani to the royal court.

About this time Fadl 'Ali Khan, a chief of the Dawudpotas, who had been driven away from his country by Ikhtiyar Khan, a neighbouring chief, came to the Mir for help. Fath 'Ali Khan instantly started with large forces to the country of Ikhtiyar Khan and the latter got so much frightened that he immediately surrendered. Fadl 'Ali Khan regained the tracts he wanted, but he could not pay the war-indemnity of two lacs of rupees to the Mir, who blockaded the fort, from which Ikhtiyar Khan had escaped. But later Muhammad Bahawal, the ruler of the Dawudpotas, interceded and the Mir received the indemnity from the people.

Mir Fath 'Ali Khan returned to Shahpur and was informed that his general Haji Ahmad had taken possession of the fort of Hyderabad in 1198 A.H.[2] (1784 A.D.) without much resistance and that the families of the Kalhoras, living therein, had left for Jodhpur.

We have seen above that the envoys of 'Abd-al-Nabi and Mir Fath 'Ali Khan had gone to Timur Shah to plead their respective cases. The king first divided the province of Sind amongst both the claimants, but the Mir did not like the decision. His envoys remained at the royal court and further pleaded his case. The Afghan army under Bostan Khan and Ikhlas Khan, was sent, in the meanwhile, to reinstate 'Abd-al-Nabi, but the Mir preceeded to meet them near Lohri (Rohri). At the same time the Mir's envoys returned with the

1. According to Frerenama it had been given as a reward for the murder of Mir Bijar.
2. This is as recorded by Mirza Qalich Beg, but the poet 'Azim has given the date 1197 A.H. as we will see later.

royal Sanad, conferring upon him the rulership of the whole of Sind. The Balochs received this news with great rejoicings, while 'Abd-al-Nabi sought retirement.[1]

After some time, a few Baloch chiefs severed their relations with Mir Fath 'Ali Khan and retired. This event provided an encouragement to 'Abd-al-Nabi who wrote a petition to Timur Shah, at Jalalabad, and sought his help for reinstatement. The king was compassionate, hence he sent an army under the command of Ahmad Khan Nurzai and Bostan Khan, and further asked Muhammad Nasir of Qalat to help them. Thus the combined forces crossed the river and came to the country of Muhammad Bahawal Khan Dawudpota, who fled away to the desert. Mir Fath 'Ali Khan learnt about the attack, so he sent Sayyid (Agha) Ibrahim Shah as an envoy to the king and enquired reason for the attack, because he was regularly paying the annual tribute. The king's forces had already proceeded as far as Lohri (Rohri), hence the Mir prepared himself to meet them. He asked his brother Mir Ghulam 'Ali Khan to collect the forces and he himself destroyed the bridges which had been prepared for the king's army to cross the river. Mir Suhrab Khan deserted the Mir and locked himself in the fort of Shahgarh. The Mir was then alone and had a small army of 2,000 fighters only, as against the large army of 40,000 Afghans. A bloody battle began. Bostan Khan and the Brohi chief (the son of Zaraq and the grandson—daughter's son—of Muhammad Nasir Khan of Qalat) were killed and Ahmed Khan Nurzai' was put to flight. The latter then sued for peace and the Mir called back his army. This event occurred in 1202 A.H. (1787 A.D.).

When Timur Shah heard of Ahmad Khan's defeat, he became angry and started personally with a large army. Prince Mahmud Khan and Muhammad Nasir Khan of Qalat also joined him. Thus the joint forces reached the country of Muhammad Bahawal. Mir Fath 'Ali Khan then wrote a letter to the king, explaining the whole situation and the reasons for his recent fight against the Afghan army. In the meanwhile, the king received news of the proposed attack on Kabul by the rebellious Subedar of Balkh. Consequently, he was obliged to return.

Mir Fath 'Ali Khan then came to Hyderabad in 1204 A.H. (1798 A.D.) and made it his new capital. His brothers Karam 'Ali and Murad 'Ali, who had gone with the royal families to take shelter in Thar, also returned. The Mir then built several houses in the fort for himself and his brothers, and also some mosques, known as Mulla Rahmatulla's mosque, Talib Shah's mosque (originally built by Miyan Ghulam Shah) and Ma'i Khairi's (Fath 'Ali's Mother's) mosque. All these buildings were constructed in the course of nine months.[2]

1. According to Frerenama, the event occurred in 1197 A. H. (1783 A.D.). Up to this event Mirza Qalich Beg follows Fath-nama, that ends here.

2 Mirza Qalich Beg's History, II, p. 205.

Next year, *i.e.*, in 1205 A.H. (1790 A.D.) the king Timur Shah again sent an army under Painda Khan and it reached as far as Shikarpur. Mir Fath 'Ali Khan again advanced but a treaty was made. The Mir agreed to pay the same tribute to the king as the Kalhoras used to pay to Ahmed Shah. Painda Khan presented a robe of honour, an elephant with a *howdah*, a sword studded with jewels and also a fresh *sanad* with the royal seal and signature, confirming the Mir as the ruler of Sind. This occurred in 1207 A.H. (1792 A.D.).

We have mentioned above that the Brohi chief, the son-in-law of Muhammad Nasir, had been killed in 1194 A.H. while fighting for 'Abd-al-Nabi against the Mir. As a compensation for that loss, 'Abd-al-Nabi had given "a tract of country, watered by streams of rain-water",[1] *i.e.*, the modern Karachi (area) to Muhammad Nasir of Qalat. The Mir was now the sole ruler of Sind, so he wanted to occupy Karachi as well. His brother Ghulam 'Ali advised him to get it from the Ruler himself and the latter gave him, accordingly, by the end of the year 1207 A.H.

Next year (1208 A.H./1793 A.D.) Timur Shah died and his son Shah Zaman,[2] according to the old custom, sent a robe of honour and a fresh Sanad to Fath 'Ali Khan, confirming him in the same authority. The Mir, thereafter, divided Sind into seven shares, retaining three for himself. Two shares were given to Mir Suhrab Khan; one reserved for Mir Fath 'Ali's other relations; and the remaining one shared by Mir Thara Khan[3] s/o Mir Fath Khan), Mir Mahmud Khan (uncle to Fath 'Ali Khan), Mir Ghulam Husain Khan and Bahram Khan (sons of Mir 'Abdullah) and other Talpurs. Thus they lived peacefully for seven years, till Mir Fath 'Ali Khan died of carbuncle on the 10th of Muharram, 1217 A.H. (13th May, 1802) and his brother Mir Ghulam 'Ali[4] succeeded him according to his will.

Historical References.

In A.H. 1201 (A.D. 1786) we find in Azim's Diwan a fragment قطعهٔ موشح, the first letters of whose verses would bring out the name of Mir Ghulam 'Ali Talpur. The fragment refers to his arrival at Thatta in that year:—

(p. 118) مژده ای دل که دل نواز جهان   کام دل داد بهر هر دلبرز

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1. Ibid., p. 206.
2. Mirza Qalich (II, p. 206) gives his name as Zaman Shah, but Shah Zaman is perhaps the better form, as is found in the verses noted in the لب تاریخ سند, p. 144. Zaman Shah, however, appears to be another form of his name (Ibid., p. 140).
3. Died in 1245/1829.
4. Died in 1227/1811.
5. On page 120 of the *diwan* we find a chronogram on the arrival of Hakim Ibrahim Shah (d. 1225/1810) at Thatta. If we add the numerical value of دل (+34) to that of the last hemistich it will be A.H. 1202 and I think it will be a better version.

In 1202/1787 when Ahmed Khan Noorzai was defeated by Mir Fath 'Ali Khan, our poet eulogised him thus:—

(p. 99) خداوندِ عالم کرامت نمود بفضل از ازل فتحِ فتح علی

The year 1203/1788 marks the death of Mir Fath 'Ali Khan's uncle (خالو) Miyan Ghulam Muhammad Talpur:—

(pp. 184) مقبولِ حق غلام محمد وفات یافت در عشرهٔ محرمِ ایامِ محترم

The next year (1204/1789) records another robe of honour received from the king of Kabul, probably through one Rai Jaspat:—

تعالیٰ الله کز فضل آن کام بخش خداوندِ ذوالجود اکرام بخش
سر افراز شد باز میرِ جهان به خوش خلعتِ شاهِ جمشید شان
به شمشیرِ نام آورِ روزگار ظفرمند تاجِ سرِ روزگار
شهِ سند فتح علی خان امیر • غلام علی سرورِ بے نظیر
(p.102) به اقبالِ آن خسروِ سربلند شده خدمتِ رای جسپت پسند[1]

It must have been only after the receipt of this honour that the Mir married a second wife in the year A.H. 1304, as the poet records:—

(pp. 103-104) بحمدالله کز فضل آن ذوالجلال وزید از سر نو نسیمِ وصال

A year later Mir's youngest brother Murad 'Ali Khan was married. The poet wrote two chronograms on the occasion:—

(p. 104) لله الحمد کو بحکمتِ خاص رسمِ تزویج کرده است جلی
(p. 105) چو داد میرِ جوان بخت را مرادعلی تمام ملک نموده بصد طرب شادی

The year 1206/1791 is an important one. The poet wrote a doublet of 316 verses, entitled سیرِ دل (p. 192 seqq.) and also several fragments, as are found on pp. 111, 114, 115 and 184. Mir Ma'il, the poet's cousin, wrote a chronogram on the completion of the said doublet:—

شهِ شاعران میر بزم سخن که اسمش عظیم است نامِ خدا
پی تحفهٔ بزم سلطانِ سند که سلطانیش داد عهدِ وفا
چه سلطان که نامش به فتح علی کند کارِ رستم به دشتِ وغا
عجب مثنویِ نکو سیرِ دل مرتب نموده بطرزِ صفا
اگرچه مجاز است ظاهر ولے بسوے حقیقت بود رهنما[2]

When Mir Fath 'Ali's second younger brother Karam 'Ali Khan took the Holy Quran by heart, the poet Azim wrote:—

(p. 111) حمدللهِ ربِّ عالمیان که بود ربِ ناس و ربِ فلق

1. On page 102 (n) I have adhered to the reading of the original copy of the diwan, hence the numerical value has been referred to as A.H. 1198, but as a matter of fact, it should be A.H. 1204 in بود خلعت عزوجاه and خلعت باعلا .

2. Kulliyat-Ma'il (Karachi, 1959), pp. 391-392.

It was really a matter of great rejoicings, hence the poet wrote another chronogram thus:—

فرخنده بخت میرِ موفّق کـرم علی   چون یافت عزِ حفظِ کلام‌اللـه المجید
(p. 111) تاریخ این سعادتِ عظمی ز عرشِ دل   "حفظِ کـلامِ واجـدِ باقی" ندارسید
۱۲۰۶ھ

The same year (1206/1791) records the construction of "bungalows" for (*a*) Mir Fath 'Ali Khan, (*b*) Ghulam 'Ali Khan, (*c*) Karam 'Ali Khan, (*d*) Murad 'Ali Khan and (*e*) for the poet himself (pp. 103-105). Perhaps this was the first introduction of an English pattern for the royal residence in Sind. Mir Ma'il has applauded Azim's bungalow in five chronograms:—

[1]برای قصرِ تو ای میرِ ما عظیم‌الدین   رساند طبع دعا گوی پنج قطعهٔ سال

Then we find three chronograms on the construction of Mir Ghulam 'Ali Khan's mosque at Hyderabad (pp. 112-113) in 1207/1792. A few lines of the first one are as follows:—

تـاجِ بسم الـلـه رحمٰن الرحیم   هست زیبِ فرقِ فرقان العظیم
اهـلِ دل آلِ محمّد یـافتند   معنی لفظِ الف با لام و میم
میو کرد این مسجدِ عالی بنا   چون قلوب اهـل ایمان مستقیم
از غـلامـیِ عـلی آن نامدار   یافت این توفیق از رب الکریم
بین سوادِ حیدرآباد این زمان   شـد بیاضِ بیتِ الله العظیم...

After Timur Shah's death in 1208/1793, his son Shah Zaman sent a robe of honour and a fresh *Sanad* of recognition to Mir Fath 'Ali Khan. The poet wrote two chronograms on the occasion. The first one opens with these lines:—

شکرِ خدا کہ از کرمِ پنج گنج جود   هر سال و ماه شد بہ جهان سرفراز میر
سلطانِ سند فتح علی خانِ نامـدار   هست از ازل ز شاهِ شهان سرفراز میر...
تاریخِ سال بے سرِ اندیشہ صبحگاه   فرمود دل "ز شـاهِ زمان سرفراز میر"
۱   ۱۲۰۹-۱=۱۲۰۸ھ

The second chronogram on the same occasion so begins:—

[2]خسروا برتو مبارک بود این خلعتِ تو   بنوشتند بنامت رقمِ شادیِ مُلک...
بهرِ تاریخِ سرافرازیت از شاهِ زمان   هاتفم گفت سحر "خلعتِ آبادیِ ملک"[3]
۱۲۰۸ھ

1. Ibid., pp. 387-390. Again in A.H. 1206 we find a chronogram on the death of Khalifa Muhammad Said (p. 184).
2. Mir Ma'il (Kulliyat, p. 371i) wrote a chronogram in 1208/1793, when Shah Zaman returned to Kabul.
3. On page 103 the numerical value of the chronogram may please be read as 1208 (A.H.).

On the birth of Mir Muhammad s/o Mir Ghulam 'Ali Khan, the poet wrote several chronograms in 1209/1794 (pp. 109-111). In the same year Ummaid 'Ali, the poet's son, was born (p. 111). Mir Ma'il also wrote on that occasion:—

کنون امیدِ عظیم از علی چو شد حاصل   " بود حصولِ امیدِ عظیم" سالِ ولود
[1]دگر بعونِ جنابِ دو شاهزادهٔ دین   " زهی امیدِ علیِ عظیم" دل فرمود

Again in (1209/1794) the poet wrote a chronogram on the death of the poet Ghulam 'Ali "Mu'min":—

بباغ خلد شد مرزای مومن   که ممتاز از غلامی علی بود
به بزم شاه دین رضوان بیردش   که شاها این غلام تُست موجود
مخاطب شد علی با او بتخصیص   " غلاما مومنا " شاهش بفرمود[2]
۱۲۰۹ هـ

The poet also wrote his famous lengthy doublet "Fath-Nama"[3] in 1209/1794, recording the meritorious warlike skill and various victories of Mir Fath 'Ali Khan. It is on the lines of Firdausi's Shah Nama, bearing the same metre and style. It contains about 3,000 verses and marks the greatest and the largest poetic talents a poet in Sind ever displayed. The poet recalls his pedigree therein:—

از ان دم که جان جامه پوشِ تن است   محمد عظیم‌الدین اسم من است
حسینی و شیرازی و تتّوی   علی با شدم مرشدِ معنوی

The following year (1210/1795) records the beginning of the compilation of Azim's *diwan*, as he says in its introduction:—

چو آغاز ترتیب دیوان نمود   مدد خواست دل از جناب احد
دلم بهر تاریخ آغاز آن   بگفتا " علی العظیما مدد"
۱۲۱۰ هـ

He further says therein:—

به لحاظ قلّت و کثرت اشعار نپرداخته، دیوانے موجز و مختصر مرتّب ساخته، و بنای اران بر آن گذاشته که چون در حال سنین عمر احقر از اربعین متجاوز، آئنده بخواهش یزد مختار اگر حیات مستعار قدرے وفا نماید، هر قدر اشعار که تازه طبع زاد شود بر حواشی اوراقِ دیوان مرقوم گردد -

1. Kulliyat-i-Ma'il, p. 39fi. But Azim's son died three years later. See his diwan, pp. 210-211.
2. See also Maqalatush-Shuara (Karachi, 1957), pp. 70, 783-784.
3. The writer of these lines has edited it for the Sindhi Adabi Board, but it is regretted that they do not propose to publish it. There is one more Fath-Nama by Mir Subedar Khan s/o Mir Fath 'Ali Khan, having about 16,300 verses. It was completed in A.H. 1254. Azim has referred to the completion of his Fath-Nama in his diwan, p. 5.

In the above lines he records his age to be above forty[1] and says that thereafter he would enter his verses, if any, on the margins of his present compilation. He has, accordingly, done so, and the compiler of the present diwan has put all such verses in the Appendix No. 1 (p. 222 seqq.). Other chronograms also recall the year A.H. 1210, when (a) Mir Fath 'Ali Khan married a third wife (p. 107); (b) his youngest brother Murad 'Ali Khan completed the recitation of the Holy Quran (p. 112); (c) the latter got a mosque constructed (p. 113) and (d) the ruler erected the tomb of Makhdum Mir Muhammad s/o **Makhdum** Muhammad Zaman[2] (p. 113). In A. H. 1211 the poet wrote a chronogram (p. 108) on the marriage of Hakim Ibrahim[3] Shah's two sons, and lastly the year A.H. 1212 records the death of the poet's own son (pp. 210-211). With these dates the chronograms end and there is no further historical data regarding the poet, except that he composed his another famous doublet "Ranjhan-o-Hir" in A.H. 1214/A.D. 1799. It contains about 1800 verses and begins thus:-

یا رب از لطف ده بساغرِ دل	بادهٔ عشق روح پرورِ دل
راح روحی فداه راحتِ جان	کہ بود مرهمِ جراحتِ جان
چه می؟ آن آبِ زندگانیِ دل	چه می؟ آن عمرِ جاودانیِ جان
چه می؟ آن آبروی عالمِ عشق	غم بشوید ز دل بجز غمِ عشق
دل ز تو دردمند می خواهم	دردِ تو دل پسند می خواهم

Hafiz Hoshiyarpuri has already edited and published this doublet for the Sindhi Adabi Board (Karachi, 1957), with his scholarly notes of introduction.

Azim's other verses (besides the said Appendix No. 1), as found in بیاض مراثی and بیاض دکتور بلوچ ، مکلی نامہ، بیاض قانع، محکِ خسروی, have been inserted into or added to the diwan on pp. 11, 14, 15, 20, 28, 56, 82, 87, 93 and 238 seqq. Through these verses we get no internal evidence regarding the date of their composition but the Appendix No. 1, no doubt, comprises all that work which ranges after A.H. 1212 and before A.H. 1229 (A.D. 1814),

1. The diwan was compiled in A.H. 1210 and the poet was born in A.H. 1162, when his predecessor Muhsin had died. Azim says:-

من بمجلس آمدم تو محسنا برخاستی ـ این روایت هیچ جا از روضة الاحباب نیست

See تکملہ مقالات الشعراء, p. 390 and مقالات الشعرا, p. 702.

Ma'il (Kulliyat, p. 392) wrote a chronogram on the compilation of Azim's diwan as well.

2. See تکملہ مقالات الشعرا, pp. 167-168.

3. Kulliyat-i-Ma'il, pp. 373-431. The colophon of Azim's diwan (p. 217) also denotes that the copy, in its original phase, was completed in A.H. 1211.

when the poet breathed his last at the age of 66 years. His cousin Ma'il has a threnody on his death:—

افسوس کاین زمان دگر از خواهشِ قضا   بعد از گذشتنِ مهِ عاشورهٔ بلا
در غرهٔ صفر که بود هم مهِ عزا   دردِ عظیم کرد جهان تعزیت سرا
کاین هر دو ماهِ ماتمِ سبطین اعظم اند
ماهِ محرّم و صفر از بهرِ ماتم اند
آن واقف رموزِ سخن فخر صد کلیم   نامی. با قوّت و با شوکتِ عظیم
شیدای طرز هر سخنش قدسی و سلیم   مداح خاص احمد و هم آل الکریم
چون در جنان به اهل سخن کرد سر سخن
بشنید بارک الله ز تحسین بهر سخن
از بسکه حبّ خاصِ علی العظیم داشت   از شوق یاد نام حبیب کریم داشت
حبِّ علی و آل عظیمش صمیم داشت   ز الهام روح قدس تخاص عظیم داشت
روح القدس بسالِ وفاتش ز غیب زود
گفتا "بجا محبِ علی العظیم بود"
۹ ۲ ۲ ۱ ھ

Panegyrics.

There are seventeen panegyrics to Azim's credit, all bearing the religious hue. The first one has five sections (pp. 124-128), with praises to Allah, the Holy Prophet and then to Mir Fath 'Ali Khan. The third qasida deals with prasises to the Holy Prophet and his family, and all others are in homage to Hazrat 'Ali and his progeny. But all of them comprise, in one way or the other, the praises to Mir Fath 'Ali or his brothers.[1] The first qasida displays masterly talents of the poet and contains several subtleties and aetiologies. A few verses may be quoted here:—

جانِ عالم تونی ای جان جهان قربانت   هیچ بسمل نه دهد جان بجز الله اکبر
تنفّسِ من شده از گریه گره همچو حباب   در هوای تو مگر بگذرد آبم از سر
سرم آخر بهوای تو همی گردد خاک   سرسری نیست چو عشق تو گذشتم از سر
پردهٔ ناز و نیاز ار نبود حائلِ ما   درمیانِ من و تو نیست نقابی دیگر......
آمشے دفترِ ادیانِ سلف پاره نمود   چه کند شقِ قلم آنکه کند شقِ قمر

1. Panegyrics on pages 137-138, 138-140, 140-141, 141-142, 143-144, 144-145 and 146-148 are mainly in praise of the Mir or his brothers.

Such devices are again found in other panegyrics, but have no such force or fire; e.g.:—

پنجتن نقش ترا درشش جهت بر هفت کرد   با تو نصرت شد دو چار از اتحاد هشت‌وچار
دوستان تو خوش بسیر و شکار   دشمنت دائما شکار تو باد
بر دلت غم مباد جز غم خلق   خالق خلق غمگسار تو باد
بسته ای شیرازهٔ جمعیت مُلک آنچنانک   نیست کس جز کاکل هندو پریشان روزگار

In a panegyric,[1] in praise of the Mir and his brothers (pp. 141-142), the poet brings out an 'introduction' of sufistic phraseology of the 'Naqshbandia' order:—

نام یزدان چوورد جان باشد   مایهٔ جان جاودان باشد
آیهٔ إنّ اولیاء اللّٰه   لا یموتون بهر آن باشد
دل بیاد خدا بود زنده   نفس زنده به آب و نان باشد
هست مقبول حضرت دادار   فکر و ذکری که آن نهان باشد
ذکر ظاهر که شد ریا آمیز   خاصه از بهر زاهدان باشد
گر تو خلوت در انجمن داری   قدرت اعلی ز قدسیان باشد
چیست خلوت در انجمن یعنی   دل بحق، رو بمردمان باشد

But Azim works with better 'force' when he eulogises in the form of a ghazal. A few lines of such eulogy may be recalled here:—

یا شاه تو شاه دو جهانی   در هر دو جهان تو حکم رانی
محکوم تو گشت شاه انجم   تو حاکم اهل آسمانی

1. This panegyric is on the lines of Anwari.

Diwan-i-Zahir and its Authorship

To the famous Persian poet Zahir-i-Faryabi (d. 598/1201) has been ascribed a Diwan of Ghazals, printed at Lucknow (India) in 1916, with the line, often quoted in his praise, on the title-page:-

دیوان ظہیر فاریابی　　در مکہ بدزد اگر بیابی

But a close study of the same reveals that it belongs to his name-sake Zahir of a later period rather than to this poet. The following points need be borne in mind:-

(*a*) The presence of the pen-name (Zahir) at the end of every Ghazal was not a usual practice in the 6th century A.H. Sana'i (d. 545/1150), the fore-runner in the field of Persian Ghazal, has seldom used his pen-name, and so is the case of Sayyid Hasan (d. 556/1161), Falaki (d. 577/1181), Anwari (d. 585/1189), Jamalu'd-Din Isfahani (d. 588/1192) etc.[1]

(*b*) The poet has metaphorically used the names of some of the famous books like Kimiya-i-Sa'adat (Ghazali, d. 505/1111), Makhazan-i-Asrar (Nizami, d. 599/1202), Gulshan-i-Raz (Mahmud Shabistari, d. 717/1317), Mutawwal (Taftazani, d. 748/1347), etc. in the following lines:-

اکسیر کیمیاے سعادت دل من ست　　گوگرد احمرم کہ طلا را کند نحاس

مخزن اسرار معنی ابر گوهر بار ماست　　دُر درج معرفت لعل لب گفتار ماست

شرح ابروش ز دیباچہ آن چہرہ ظہیر　　شاہ بیتی ست کہ از گلشن راز آوردم

شرح مطول سر زلف تو برهم ست　　پنداشت دل چو رمز لبت مختصر شود

If these lines metaphorically refer to those books, it is evident that the poet[2] lived after 748/1347.

(*c*) We find still a later reference in the Diwan, regarding the Chahar-bagh—a garden built by Shah 'Abbas the Great (d. 1038/1629) near the Zayinda Rud in Isfahan in 1006 A.H. (1598 A.D.):—

ز سیر چار باغ از دیدہ ام زایندہ رود آمد　　صفاهان بر من بیچارہ زندان ست در واقع

1. Khaqani (d. 595/1198) has, no doubt, used his pen-name in almost all of his Ghazals, but later even Kamalud-Din Ismail (d. 635/1237) has not done so.
2. In the manuscript Diwan of Zahir at Islamia College, Peshawar, we find a hemistich of Hafiz of Shiraz (d. 791/1389) referred to as follows:—

بگوے دوست ظہیر آن چنان کہ حافظ گفت — تبسمے کن و جان بین چگونہ می سپرم

(*d*) The poet has used the word گاو تکیہ, which, as far as I could trace, was not in vogue before the 11th century A.H.

[1]زرد و ضعیف و مفلس و بے قیمتم ظہیر   فارغ چو گاو تکیہ بہ دیوار دادہ ام

(*e*) Now we come to a definite proof of the poet's age, as he takes pride in being a pupil of the poet Sa'ib of Isfahan (d. 1080/1669):—

بہ شعر فخر ازان می کند ظہیر کہ سر   چو خامہ بر خط تعلیم صائبا دارد

This point is further corroborated by the fact that Zahir-i-Isfahani's verses, quoted by Pazman in his "Bihtarin Ash'ar",[2] are all found in the said diwan as printed at Lucknow.

Now as we have come to the conclusion that the above-mentioned diwan belonged to Zahir of Isfahan, a pupil of Sa'ib, we may find out further details through the internal evidence. This Zahir has called himself as Zahiri as well; *e.g.*:—

اگر پرسند کس حال ظہیری را بگویندش   کہ در دام ست آن مرغے کہ شب از آشیان گم شد

میان خوب رویان سر بلندی می سزد اورا   کہ دارد چون ظہیری عاشق زار دعا گوئے

Like his master, Zahir, too, seems to grieve over the indifference of the people of his native place towards his poetry:—

هر چند ظہیر از وطن خویش بنالیم   بر ما رہ سلطان خراسان نتوان بست

قدر ارباب سخن را نشناسند ظہیر   این قدر گنج کہ از سینہ فشاندیم عبث

He had been to Kirman to earn his livelihood, but he had to leave it:—

ما را برات عشق ز کرمان بریدہ شد   زان پس بنام شاہ خراسان نوشتہ اند

He has, however, praised the superiority of the 'black-eyed beauty' of Kirman over that of his own native place:—

[3]از چپ انداز سیہ چشمان کرمانی ظہیر   سرمہ در چشم خوبان صفاهانی بود

The following line suggests that the poet came back to Isfahan after his travel, for which he had again a longing:—

از بس ظہیر در وطنم میل غربت ست   هرگز نہ گفتہ ایم بہ غربت وطن وطن

He had often a desire to reach the mausoleum of Imam Rida (d. 203/818) at Mash-had (Khurasan), as is inferred from some of the above quoted verses. He has a Ghazal also in praise of the Imam beginning with:—

ز دور کوے ثریا یکے فریسم توس   ز جذبۂ کرم خود مکن مرا مایوس

---

1. Mulla Tughra (circa 1078 A.H.) has used that word:—

نہ بودے گر از تیرگی بد نمود — شدے گاو تکیہ ز چرخ کبود

2. Pazman's Collection (Tehran, 1313), p. 865, but he has not given any date or life-sketch of the poet.
3. Zulali (d. 1024/1615) has also used that word:—

بہ عیاری چپ انداز جہانی — بہ مکاری بلاے خان و مانی

Some of its lines are as follows:—

کسے کہ ہمچو من از طوف در گہت دورم   بہ ہر نفس نہ کشد غیر نالۂ افسوس
ہر آنکہ قدر تو نشناخت ذیل باد برد   کہ ہست تا ابد از رحمت خدا مایوس
ظہیر باتو چہ گویم عجب کہ نشناسی   غریب خاک خراسان، شہید خطۂ طوس

Perhaps he was not able to reach there. He has another line thus:—

[1] اے صبا گر بخراسان گذری بہر ظہیر   ہمتے جز ز دم شاہ غریباں مطلب

He again refers to his attachment with the lineage of Hazrat 'Ali:—

[2] بہر کہ می نگرم تکیہ بر کسے دارد   ظہیر دامن آل ابو تراب گرفت

But in spite of the staunch Shia-ism of the Safawi Court, the poet refers to his salvation thus:—

ظہیر اگر تو بمحشر نجات می طلبی   ز صدق دامن پیغمبر و صحاب بگیر

He has two very fine Ghazals in praise of the Holy Prophet (Peace be upon him), beginning with:—

کسے کہ می زند از شکوۂ فلک تشنیع   تمیز عقل نہ دارد چو کودکان وضیع
اے ز ہلال ناخنت بدر بیک اشارہ شق   چرخ نثار مقدمت کردہ ستارہ در طبق

The poet has also referred to his old age in several lines; *e.g.*:—

داغم ظہیر پیر ست لطف تو دستگیر ست   کے می گریزد از تو در عشق ہائے بست ست
شد پیر ظہیر و غم او در قدمم ہم   در شیب خیالش کہ ہمان عہد شباب ست
نخل قد ظہیر ز پیری خمیدہ نیست   وا حسرتا کہ گشتہ ز بار گناہ کج
پیری رسید و گشت چنان بے کمالیم   گوئی کہ تا جوان کنند از کہنہ سالیم
طفل شوخے بردہ از کف اختیارم اے ظہیر   در ہوائے عشق او در کہنہ سالی می روم
ز بس شکایت علت بدان رسید ظہیر   کہ حرفہائے صحیح از کلام ما افتد

He was attached to Sufism as he writes in the Ghazal:—

من پرتوے ز عشقم و بر حسن ماتمم   مجنون تجد عشقم و لیلیٰ قبائلم

The whole Ghazal speaks of Pantheism and is full of mystical pathos. The poet again praises Gnosis:—

مرد را بر تن لباس معرفت آرائشے ست   زن طبیعت میل بر دیبائے زرکش می کند

At several places the poet discards avarice and is inclined to contentment. A few verses may be quoted here:—

دنیا طلب مباش و مکن جستجوے گنج   قارون بخاک تیرہ شد از آرزوے گنج

---

1. Sa'ib also says:—

للہ الحمد کہ بعد از سفر حج صائب   عہد خود تازہ بہ سلطان خراسان کردم

Sa'ib's attachment with the Imam Rida, after his Hajj, suggests that his pupil, too, followed his tendency and that he took him as his master only after his return from India (and consequently from Hajj) some time after 1042/1632.

2. He had a desire to reach Iraq (for Najaf, Karbala etc.) as well:—

ساز عراق کن کہ دلت وا شود ظہیر   کے بے نواست تا بود اندر وطن گرہ

آنم که نیست در دلِ من مدعاے گنج   درّے ز بحرِ سینه نه سفتم براے گنج
یقینِ او به توکّل تمام نیست ظهیر   کسے که وقتِ سفر فکرِ زادِ راه کند
خوش آن کسے که براهِ فنا بود چو شرار   امید و بیم نه دارد ز کس به نفع و ضرر
درین دو روزهٔ فانی ظهیر حیرانم   که بر متاعِ قلیلِ جهان کنند نزاع

Regarding his poetic talents nothing seems to be extra-ordinary. He has, however, written some Ghazals with 'repeated rhymes'; *e.g.*:—

اے زخود بینی بچشمت مردمِ غم خوار خوار   در طریق آزارِ ما بس گشته با اغیار یار
شب بیاد آن بتِ خندان شگفتم باغ باغ   باوجودِ آنکه از عشقِ تو گشتم داغ داغ
لعلِ سیرابِ تو بگرفت از میِ گلرنگ رنگ   کے روا باشد اگر مطرب نهد از چنگ چنگ

He has generally used از این and در این, without dropping همزهٔ وصل, *e.g.*:—

حدیثِ عشق می سوزد زبان را   ظهیر از این سخن یک لحظه خاموش
ظهیر از این گدائی لافِ شاهی می تواند زد   که از ترکِ جهان هر روز بر سر افسرے دارم
بتے هر جا که پیدا می کنم اغیار هم دارد   گلے چون می دمد در این گلستان خار هم دارد
لذتِ خارِ مغیلان را چه می داند ظهیر   هر که او در این بیابان موزه در پا می کند
بسکه از مردم طراوت رفته در این روزگار   اشکِ من خشکیده می آید ز شرِّ اطوار خویش

About other details of Zahir's life we have no knowledge, and have no evidence, internal or external, even regarding the date of his death.

THE FIRST PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF THE HOLY QURAN IN THE INDO-PAKISTAN SUB-CONTINENT

The earliest Persian translation of the Holy Quran,* known to us, appeared in the days of Mansūr b. Nūh Sāmānī (265 A.H.—350 A.H.). Then follow a series of translations † till the oft-cited translation by 'Alī b. Muhammad, known as Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī (d. 816 A.H.), and wrongly ascribed to Shaikh Sa'dī (d. 690/1291). In the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent the earliest known translation is by Shāh Walīullāh of Delhi (d. 1176 A.H.), but fortunately we have got a Persian translation by Makhdūm Nūh of Hālā (Sind), who lived still earlier. His name was Lutfullāh (b. Ni'mat-ullāh b. Muhammad Ishāq b. Shihābu'ddīn). He was born at Hālā on the Friday night, the 27th of Ramadān, 911 A.H. (21st February, 1506 A.D.) and descended from the first pious Caliph of Islam. He memorized the Holy Quran at the age of seven and took to the study of the then current curriculum. He used to say that the Holy Prophet had blessed him with four things, (i) Exhortation of the Dhikr (Remembering Allah, (ii) Tafsīr (Exegesis) of the Holy Quran, (iii) Recitation of the Hadīth, and (iv) Interpretation of dreams.

Makhdūm Nūh followed the Suhrawardiyyah order of saints and emphasised the importance of four things, (i) Complete submission to the will of Allah, (ii) Total adherence to Sunnah, (iii) Understanding and

* One translation has been ascribed to Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān (d. 785/1384), as referred by Mr. Ayub Qādiri in his book on this saint (p. 262), but its language seems to be of a later period.

† These translations are referred to in Storey's Persian Literature, Vol. I, Parts I & II; Loth's Catalogue, pp. 5-6; British Museum Catalogue, Vol. I, pp. 6-8; Cambridge Catalogue, pp. 40-43; India Office Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 1456, etc.

following the Holy Quran, and (iv) Offering prayers in congregation. He died on the 27th of Dhi-qa'd, 998 A.H. (17th September, 1590 A.D.) and was buried at Hālā (Sind), where thousands of pilgrims come and offer requiem throughout the year. Here we give a brief description of this saint's Persian translation of the Holy Quran, which is so far the earliest one in the sub-continent.

Makhdūm Nūh's translation remained confined to the original copy of the Holy Quran, until some 13 years after the author's death, his disciple Bahāu'ddin Godriah undertook to transcribe it at the request of Sayyid Abū Bakr, who was his master's another disciple. We possess this manuscript* which is introduced by the copyist (Bahāu'ddin Godriah) as follows (giving the date of its commencement as "afternoon, 27th of Sh'aban 1011 A.H."):—

" بدانکه باسمه سبحانه و صلواةِ حبیبهٖ علیه‌السلام بعد از آوردنِ سرخی
از شهر تته مرفه از بیست و هفتم ماه شعبان در نوشتن ترجمه بعد ظهر شروع
کردم در تاریخ سنہ ۱۰۱۱ھ بفضل و کرم الاهی ـ امید که بحرمتِ قرآن
و بحرمتِ نبی آخر الزمان جمله ترجمه بخیر و سلامت تمام گردد ـ آمین ."

After that he has given a detailed account of the dates on which various chapters (*Surahs*) were transcribed. The whole work took two years and a half to complete and was finished in the year 1013 A.H. (1604 A.D.):

" تحریر مصحف را تاریخ کاتبش نه نوشته، و لیکن تحریر ترجمہ در سال
ثلث عشر و الف سنه بود بدست فقیر بہاءالدین گودریه که یکی از فقیران
سند است و باعثِ بر نویسانیدنِ ترجمه حضرت سیدالسادات طالب وصول
رب‌العٰلمین میان سید ابوبکر سلمه الله تعالی است ."

Continuing further, Bahāu'ddin has given the details about the characteristics of the original copy of the Holy Quran which was with Makhdūm Nūh. This information is helpful for knowing the different styles of transcription adopted for the art of calligraphy in those times:—

*This manuscript is preserved in Pir Tālib-ul-Maula's Library at Hālā.

"و چون این فقیر نظر کرد در مصحف مخدوم آن طریقی که در مصحف مخدوم
است واضح تر کتابت بود که مصحف بطریقی بود که در سند یافته نه شود
که اول هر صفحه او آیت است و آخر هر صفحه نیز آیت تمام بود و هر ده
ورق جزوی تمام بود که در سینی کراس تمام شده است و درمیان هر دو سطری
مفاصله سه سطر ترجمه واضح کتابت داشت و آن ترجمه در مصحف پیش از
جلد کردن تمام نوشته بود ....."

We may now compare the work of Makhdūm Nūh with such other works so as to bring out its main characteristics. One of them is a translation dating back to 911 A.H. and preserved in the British Museum (No. Add-23, 252). It gives the translation of Surah Wa-al-'Adiyāt thus:

" بحق اسپان جهنده در غزوات، پس اسپان آتش بیرون آرندگان، اسپان
غارت کنندگان در صبح گاه، پس برانگیختند در آن وقت غباری بسیار - پس درمیان
در آمدند در آن جمعی از دشمنان را، بدرستی که آدمی مر پروردگار خود را هر
آئینه ناسپاس است، بدرستی که آدمی بران ناسپاسی هر آئینه گواه است و بدرستی
که او برای دوستی مال هر آئینه سخت است۔ آیا پس نمی داند که چون
برانگیخته شوند آنها در گورستانهایند و پیدا کرده شود آنچه در سینه هست،
بدرستی که پروردگار ایشان به ایشان در آن روز هر آئینه آگاه است۔"

Shāh Walīullāh has translated this passage as follows:—

" قسم به اسپان تیز دونده بوجهی که ازدم پر شوند - پس قسم به
اسپان آتش برآرنده به آنکه بغل خود سنگ را بزنند پس قسم به اسپان غارت
کننده چون در وقت صبح در آیند - پس برانگیزند باآن وقت غبار را - پس
در آیند باآن وقت درمیان جماعتی- هر آئینه آدمی به نسبت پروردگار خود
ناشکر گذار است و هر آئینه آدمی بر ناسپاسی خود مطلع است و هر آئینه آدمی
در دوست داشتن مال مبالغه کننده است - آیا پس نمی داند که چون برانگیخته

شود هرآنچه در گورها باشد و ظاهر ساخته شود هر آنچه درسینه ها باشد ـ
هر آئینه پروردگار ایشان به احوالِ ایشان آن روز خبردار است."

The same Surah is translated by Makhdūm Nūh as follows:

" بحق آن اسپانِ نیک روِ غازیان که دم زنند دم زدنی ـ پس بحقِ اسپان آتش فروزنده زدنِ سنبها در سنگها ـ پس بحقِ اسپانِ شبخون آورندگان بر دشمنانِ خدائی در وقتِ صبح، پس برانگیزند در آن وقت جای دویدن کردی، پس باز روند در آن وقت یا در آن غبار درمیانِ جمعے از جموع اعلاءدین ـ بدرستی که آدمی مر نعمتِ پروردگار خود را هر آئینه کفران کننده ایست و بدرستی که او بر آن کفرانِ خویش هر آئینه گواهے است و بدرستی که او از بهرِ دوستی مال هر آئینه بخیلے سخت است ـ اے پس نداند که چون بیرون آورده شود آنچه در قبرها است و روشن و ظاهر کرده شود آنچه در سینه‌ها است از کفر و ایمان . پروردگارِ ایشان با ایشان است آن روز هر آئینه آگاه باشد ."

A comparative study of the above three translations of the same Surah clearly shows that the one by Makhdūm Nūh is simple and literal—two significant features of his work.

His translation of Surah *al-Fatcha* is as follows:

ابتدا می کنم بنامِ خدای روزی دهنده، رحمت کننده ـ شکر و سپاس و ستائش مر خدای راکه پروردگارِ عالمیان است . روزی دهنده رحمت کننده . بادشاهِ روزِ حساب و جزا ـ تو خداوند را می پرستیم و از تو خداوندی ، یاری و مدد می خواهیم . ثابت دار ما را راهِ راست ـ راه آنها که نعمت کردی بر ایشان ـ نه راهِ آنها که خشم گرفته بر ایشان، یعنی یهودان و نه راهِ گمراهان، یعنی ترسایان .

Through the courtesy of Makhdūm Muhammad Zaman Tālib-ul-Maula Sahib, the descendant of Makhdūm Nūh, the present writer has published the first part of this translation with the chronogrammatic titles:

(*Raz-e-Ma'arifat*) and (*Jam-e-Faiz-e-Nuh*), which give the year 998 A.H., the year of the death of Makhdūm Nūh.

In the end the following chronograms have also been given:—

آورد مخدوم نوح رحمہ از جدوجہد	افصح آیات قرآن ترجمہ
٩ ٩ ٨ ھ	١ ٥ ٩ ٠ ع
حرف حرفش آیۂ جائے اسان	جامِ کوثر دین و ایمان ترجمہ
٩ ٩ ٨ ھ	١ ٥ ٩ ٠ ع
طالب المولی کہ راسِ سروری ست	با اقاذت نشر کرد آن ترجمہ
١ ٣ ٨ ١ ھ	١ ٩ ٦ ٢ ع

Some kind letters by Allama Kazi Sahib

The present writer, too, had the proud privilege of receiving several kind letters from Allama I.I.Kazi Sahib (d.1388/1968). A few of them are still in the possession and are reproduced here. They are simple and short,yet they give lessons-both religious and spiritual. The first letter is from London.Allama Sahib condoles the death of my eldest brother Haji Nazir Ahmed Khan,who died on the 8th July 1957 at Karachi. Allama Sahib first quotes the Quranic verses (87/16-17and 64/397) and then says,

. . . . . . .That is life, years pass. We keep on counting them, till, one day there is an end to them. If we only sought'life that does not die!"

In the same letter he asks me to give details of the symptoms of Influenza which was prevalent those days. This information was sought by a doctor in London, who wanted to do research on the subject. How soft-hearted was Allama Sahib and how he cared for the benefit of our country.

The second letter is again on condolences at the demise of my mother-in-law at Hyderabad on the 7th December 1957.

The third letter, dated 18-3-59 is full of kindness and affection. It also contains a verse of Hafiz.

The fourth letter is an acknowledgement of my humble greetings on the occasion of Eid-al-Azha, which occurred on 15-6-1959. All such acknowledgements brought along with them the gift of sweetmeats for the children. How sweet are these memories!

The fifth letter is also an acknowledgement of greetings on...... New year's Day, 1961. But it contains a precious note saying:- "All else passes, but goodness and truth abide.Mortal can become immortal through them".

The sixth letter is again on the New year's Day. It contains very kind words for this humble man,"you know you are always with us." Then he blesses Pakistan with these words,"May God in His mercy, show us all the glorious way to Him and make Pakistan a real Muslim state".

In the seventh letter, which was written on the 1st January 1964 (14th Shaban/83), Allama Sahib gives an important message:- "The world is out of joint. Earth's spirit is grieved and in mourning. The duty of خلائف الارض is plain :Would they not be

New year of the sun and شب براءت have fallen on the same night. It has a significance beyond words. Sun and the entire Sun-family calls upon Earth mind to: Repent cleanse. Be free from Sin. Purify. That is all the message of بری، مبرا، براءت Must we not hear the call and say اطعنا "?

Then Allama Sahib calls us (this humble man) to lead, because "Earth mourns that its mind is out of joint and sleeping and prays to its parent Sun to bless it."

Imagine how high was the approach of Allama Sahib's thinking! In the end of the letter Allama Sahib, as usual, gives the sweet message of sending sweetmeats for the children.

The eighth letter invites this humble man to reach Allama Sahib for receiving his blessings and attending his affectionate talk.

The 9th letter gives Eid greetings and hearty blessings of Allama Sahib.

In the 10th letter Allama Sahib gives blessings, with a wedding present to my daughter on the 18th December 1964. His present was very valuable, but he calls it a تحفۂ درویش and "an ant's present to Soloman." How great was Allama Sahib and how genial was his temperament! May Allah grant him the best rest and peace in the next world!

From all these letters one can surmise of the depth of love that Allama Sahib cherished for the noble ideals of Islam in particular and for humanity in general. He was, no doubt, an anguished soul, but his suffering was not because of any feeling of earthly discomfort, but due to the spectacle of the pettiness of man's aims and ideals. When he talked that "times were out of joint", he wished to warn all persons around the globe about the " rotten state of things" and to invite them to join hands and contribute their moral and spiritual strength for the restoration of Man's Lost Dignity.

Here are the copies of these letters, followed by a facsimile copy of letter No.7:-

(1)

C/o The Bank
16th July, 1957.

My dear Dr. Khan Sahib,

Thank you very much for your kind notes. We were very sorry to read of your dear brother's demise. That is what we call life. بل تؤثرون الحيوٰة الدنيا ۝ والأخرة خير وأبقىٰ ۝ (الاعلى ١٦ - ١٧)

About that it is said:- لهى الحيوان (العنكبوت ٢٩:٦٤)

That is the life. Years pass, we keep on counting them, till one day there is an end to them. If we only sought Life that does not die.

My dear brother, it sounds like preaching and I hate to preach except to those I love and feel will not misunderstand.

We were also sorry to read that you were all troubled by influenza. Thank God, you got through it safely. One doctor here has particularly requested me to let him know from some one who had the attack, how it starts, how long lasts and how it behaves. If it is not troubling you too much, I would like to know the details for his benefit. How the infection is caught and how it develops; what symptoms appear; what is the utmost temperature reached and how long it lasts. If every one caught it in the house, it must have been very troublesome. No one to help the other.

I am addressing this letter at Hyderabad, because I think you might have returned by 20th July. I am very grateful to you for your kind rememberance.

With affectionate regards from us both.

Yours sincerely,

I.I.Kazi

Cantt
7/12/57

My dear Khan Sahib,

Mr. Parwez just now informed me of your sad bereavement. Please accept our heartfelt sympathy. We are very sorry specially because you had a sad loss even last summer. We pray that God in His grace grant you peace & comfort.

Yours sincerely

I.I.Kazi.

* * *

(3)

18/3/59

My dear Khan Sahib,

So many thanks for kind rememberance. God bless you and give you joy that you deserve.
Our regards to boys & self.

اے غائب از نظر کہ شدی ہمنشین دل
می گویمت دعا و ثنا می فرستمت
حقیر بینوا غفرلہ

Sincerely Yours

I.I.Kazi.

* * *

(4)

Many Many thanks from
both of us.
For your kind rememberance.

15.7.59. I.I.Kazi.

Hyderabad
New Year's Day, 1961.

My dear Ghulam Mustafa Khan Sahib,

How very kind of you to send us greetings and good wishes. God bless you and yours.

All else passes, but goodness and truth abide. Mortal too can become immortal through them.

With very kind regards and best of wishes.

Yours V. sincerely,

I.I.Kazi.

* * *

(6)

Hyderabad
1st January, 1963.

My precious Khan Sahib,

How very kind of you to remember us. But then why expense on our account.

We have not been well for last two months, specially mother. Do pray for our health; prayers of good men are accepted.

You know you are always with us. Mother thanks you and sends regards.

We wish you and yours a very prosperous new year. May God, in His mercy, show us all the glorious way to Him and make Pakistan a real Muslim State!

Our affectionate regards,

as ever yours,

I.I.Kazi.

(14th Shaban, 1383)

My dear Khan Sahib,

We are grateful for your remembrance.

I have been anxious to meet you & talk about certain matters.

Could it not be arranged?

The world is out of joint. Earth's spirit is grieved & in mourning.

The duty of خلائف الارض is plain. Would they not be خلائف ارشد ? New year of the <u>Sun</u> & شب براءت have fallen on the same night. Since I was born, it has never happened before.

It has a significance beyond words.

Sun & the entire sun family calls upon Earth mind to

Repent, cleanse, Be free from Sin.

Purify. That is all the message of

بریٔ — مبرّا — براءت

Must we not hear the call & say اطعنا ? You have Halepota, Nabi Bux, Shafi Muhammad & one or two in your own Deptt: who will be amenable and pliant. Wake them up. Your lead is awaited. Earth mourns that its mind is out of joint and sleeping & prays to its parent Sun to bless it.

Can we not meet one day, if God pleases & do what is in our power باذن اللہ

Affectionately Yours,

I.I.Kazi.

For dear Children
with love
& best wishes for the
new year.

1964 From mother Kazi.

* * *

(8)

Hyderabad
12th August, 1964.

Our precious Khan, God bless you!

I am extremely sorry that owing to disturbances of body and mind I have not been able to thank you yet for your kind remembrance.

We have been waiting only to be able to sit up, to trouble you to come for an hour and give us the pleasure of seeing you. But the spirit is impatient yet the flesh is weak. We do hope one of these afternoons Inshaallah-al-Azim we shall have the anxiously awaited pleasure. Till then we want you to remember us in your prayers.

With best regards from us both,

Sincerely yours,

Imdad Kazi.

Hyderabad
3rd February, 1965.

My dear Khan Sahib,

Thank you so much for your kind Eid greetings, which we heartily reciprocate.

I hope you have been keeping very well. We always remember you.

With our kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

I.I.Kazi.

* * *

(10)

Hyderabad
18th December, 1965

My dear Khan Sahib,

Mother is not feeling well & it might be impossible for her to come over at 10 a.m. She leaves her bed-room even ordinarily about 11 a.m. While I cant leave her alone when she is un-well.

So it seems, we are not destined to have the pleasure of joining you there. Our blessings and thoughts will be with you & yours. May God produce joy out of it for you & for our dear daughter.

Here is enclosed what is a disgrace but then . . .

پائے ملخ پیش سلیمان بردن
عیب است ولیکن ہنر است از موری

even otherwise —— برگ سبز است تحفۂ درویش

In that aspect may be acceptable to نور چشم as an insignificant wedding present.

With best of wishes and heartiest greetings to all of you.

Sincerely yours

Imdad I. Kazi.

Here is a facsimile of Allama Sahib's Letter No. 7 :-

My very dear Khan Sahib
we are grateful for
your remembrance.

I have been anxious
to meet you & talk
about certain matters
Could it not be
arranged?

The world is out
of joint. Earth
spirit is grieved
& in mourning.

The duty of خلفاء الارض
is plain. would they
not be [illegible]

new year of the Sun
& شب برات have fallen
on the same night.
Since I was born,
it has never happened before

14th Sha'ban 1383
1st January 1964

It has a significance
beyond words.

Sum of the entire
meaning Calls upon
earth men to
Repent,
Cleanse, Be
free from Sin.
Purify. That
is all the message
of [illegible] - برات - [illegible]
[illegible]. —

Must we not
hear the Call & say labbaik,
You have Halepota
Nabi Bux, Shafi and
& one or two in your
dept who will be
amenable & pliant.
wake them up.
Your lead is wanted.

Shab Barat ~~Season's~~ Greetings
and
Best Wishes
for
A Happy New Year.

Earth moans
that its mind
is out of joint and
sleeping & prays
to its parent Sun
to bless it.
Can we not
meet one day, if
God please, &
do what lies
in our power
باذن الله —

Affectionately
yours
I.I. Kazi

EPILOGUE

I am indeed fortunate enough to have the opportunity of writing a few lines in the honour of the book "Studies in Literature" written by the great personality and a very eminent and learned Scholar Hazrat Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan Sahib who himself being a symbol of modesty and chestity does not claim as Scholar but in fact the immense and valuable services rendered by him for not only literature but for the humanities are immeasurable.

The articles written by Dr.Ghulam Mustafa Khan on the various topics signifies his dedicated work of research on the stars over the horizon of Islam and the glaxy of these shining stars have not only enlighten the printed material but will also distinguish the book in the literary circle.

Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan in his writings has always inculcated in the readers and the admirers, the Doctrine of Islam in a simple way and have highlighted the Shariat of our beloved Prophet Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa (peace be upon him), which leads them to right destination.

The articles gathered in this book were written by the Author quite a long time ago but still the fragrance of the subject is the same and it will not only cherish the memories of the readers but will also serve as a "Beacon of Light". I am also highly grateful with all my profound and deep regards for Hazrat Dr.Ghulam Mustafa Khan who has been kind enough for allowing me to write epilogue of this book and I earnestly hope and pray to Almighty Allah that this may be a chance for me to have a place in Heaven under the auspices of Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan.

Syed Usman Ali,
Vice President
Allied Bank of Pakistan Ltd.
Hyderabad.